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H I S T O R Y

OF THE

REFORMATION in *France*,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in that Kingdom.

F R O M

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,

T O T H E

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

W I T H

AN ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the *French* Protestants under *Lewis XIV.* Extracted out of the best Authorities.

A WORK never before published.

Wherein the many Falsifications of the Jesuit *Daniel*, Author of the History of France, in Matters relating to Religion, are set forth in their full Light, and proved by his own Quotations.

By the Reverend

STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,

One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. III. The First Part.

L O N D O N :

Printed by H. WOODFALL, for the AUTHOR.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

THIS First Part of the Third Volume of our History of the Reformation in France, and of the Reformed Churches in that Kingdom, contains the most considerable Events from the Peace of *Amboise* to Charles the Ninth's Death in 1574. It will seem surprising that in a Book that promises the History of the Reformation one is continually to meet with Events having little or no Relation to Religion, most part of them being of a political Nature, such as Manifestos, warlike Preparations, Sieges, Battles, Negotiations of War and Peace, &c. But that flows of course from the State and Circumstances the Reformed were in, in France.

Reformation had been settled in that Kingdom as much out of a political View, as out of any other Motive. CATHERINE of MEDICIS aimed at being absolute Mistress of the
A 2 Government,

Government; and whereas she could not cope alone with the Guises' powerful Faction, which was supported even by the first Prince of the Blood, she endeavoured to strengthen herself by bringing over to her own Interest the Reformed Party, which had till then grown and been kept up amidst Fires and Flames, and yet was in a Condition of withstanding the other; she draws them, *one may say*, out of the Ashes, she undertook sincerely or feignedly their Protection, and to make them fully assured of her Sincerity, she gave her Consent to an Edict which the General Estates had required in their Behalf, whereby, not only Liberty of Conscience, but the publick Exercise of their Religion were granted them in the Suburbs of those Cities they lived in; and as for the Temporal, they were to have the same Privileges the other Subjects did enjoy.

Nothing could be more Authentick than this Edict. It was granted to the Sollicitations of the General Estates, wherein, as it is well known, resided the Sovereign Authority, and whose supreme Power Kings themselves were obliged to submit to, and who had more than once taken Cognizance of Religious Matters, and of what belonged to the Liberties of the Gallican Church, as in the Dispute between Philip the Fair, and Pope Bonifacius VIII, in 1300 or 1301.

Nothing could be more proper to foment and maintain Peace, Union and Concord amongst the Subjects, to make the Kingdom flourish

The PREFACE.

flourish anew, to restore the Church to the Purity of the first Ages, and the State to its ancient Splendour, than such an Edict, which, leaving to Conscience its Rights, ordained Punishments, only against those petulant Spirits, who desirous of gratifying their Passions at any rate, or following the furious Instigations of a blind-fold Zeal, would have attempted to disturb the Peace of the Society whereof they were Members. But it was not the Fate of *France* to be happy under the Government of Henry II's Posterity. The Nation's enormous Sins called aloud for Punishment, and the Sons and Grandsons of Claudius of Guise, who had retired amongst them in Francis I's Time, were for many Years the Rods of the Lord's Anger, and the Staff of his Indignation against that unrighteous and perverse Generation.

The unbridled Ambition of Francis Duke of Guise, supported and incited by the violent Counsels, Cabals and Intrigues of Charles Cardinal of Lorraine his Brother, found nothing too high for his aspiring Thoughts; nothing so Sacred, but what he would violate, to bring his Designs about. Whereas the greatest Opposition, the unjust Projects of his Ambition met with, was the Peace and Tranquility the State enjoy'd, the Union and Concord that was brought insensibly amongst the Subjects of both Religions; he set all his Engines at work to disturb the one and to destroy the other, and to plunge the Kingdom in a Confusion and Disorder, the Ad-

vantages whereof his Family alone was to reap, to the perpetual Prejudice of the Royal House, and of the Prince's Authority that possessed the Throne.

The Pretence he covered his Designs with, could not be more plausible, nor more proper to dazle the People's Eyes, to produce in them his desired Effects, to gain the Clergy's Affection, and to make it intirely devoted to him, viz. RELIGION. Factious People have in all Times, generally speaking, compassed their Ends by such Means. *You see, says Demetrius to his Journeymen, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this PAUL hath persuaded and turned away much People, saying, that they be no Gods which are made with Hands: So that, not only this our Craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also that the Temple of the great Goddeſs DIANA should be despised, and her Magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the World worshippingeth. Acts xix. 26, 27.* THE CHURCH IS IN DANGER, has always been the Topick which Ringleaders have used to trouble the State and subvert it, if possible. That Pretence our Duke made use of to set all his Wheels in motion, to make the People rebel, and trample the sacred Authority of Laws under-foot. Whereby he aimed at two different Effects, the one to deprive the Queen Regent of her Power, by representing her as favouring and protecting Heresy, the other of rising himself upon her Downfall, by setting up himself for Protector of the Church and

The P R E F A C E .

and a Defender of the Faith. VASSY was the first Stage whereon he opened the tragical Scene ; the Groans of the Miserable, that perished in it, was the Alarm-Bell that was heard all over the Kingdom, and the Drops of Blood spilt there, became as many Rivers that overflow'd it for so many Years.

We have seen in our second Volume the Issue of that audacious Attempt, fatal to the Author of it, and to his chief Adherents. His Sons treading in his Steps, followed the same ambitious Projects, nay, carrying them, may be, farther than their Father had done, left in their tragical End a dreadful Example of God's just Judgment against Usurpers, that use the sacred Veil of Religion to cover the most detestable Designs, it is what we shall be informed of by History.

To return to the Effects of the first Civil War : On one hand, Catherine, being delivered from those she the most feared, did not think herself obliged to all those regards she had had for the Reformed, as long as she thought herself to be in need of their Assistance ; she gave herself up intirely to her true Inclinations, and having then, properly speaking, no Religion at all, she adhered outwardly to that that suited best with her immoderate Passions, and procured her, as she thought, the greatest Worldly Advantages, and sacrificed to it the Interests and Concerns of the other, as contrary to her political Views, and whose Maxims were no less contrary to those she followed, either in the Admini-

The PREFACE.

stration of the Government, or in her private Department, than Light is to Darkness. On the other hand, the two Parties having once tried their strength, grew the bolder by it, the one in attacking, and the other in defending itself; the latter having found by Experience, that if they were not in a condition to subdue the other Party, they were at least to withstand it; if they could not increase their Privileges, they could however preserve those that had been solemnly granted to them; they did not think themselves obliged to give way to the other's Violence as often as those their Enemies had a mind to destroy them, and trample them under their Feet, but drove to it by necessity, they took up Arms for their just Defence, as often as was necessary.

But it will be said, Is it ever lawful for Subjects to resist their Sovereign's Will, to take up Arms against him for the Defence of their Religion, and to oppose Force to Force? It would be more easy to answer that Objection, had the Reformed Religion and Church been the National Religion and Church in *France*. But whereas the Reformed have been always the smaller Number in the Kingdom, whatever can be said in behalf of the whole Body of a Nation that rises in Arms against its Sovereign for opposing his tyrannical Government, would be of none or very little Service to the present CAUSE. For supposing that we should be able to prove, that it is lawful, in certain Cases, for the whole
Body

Body of a Nation to resist their Sovereign, when he perverts Royalty into an open Tyranny, whatever is lawful in certain Cases for the whole Body, cannot be so for the lesser part of it, unless it should be authorized by the whole, much less when the Cause of that small part is quite of another Nature than the whole.

It is true, the Reformed had some Grievances to redress which were common to them with the whole Nation; and as to these, if it was lawful for the other part of the Nation, to have them redressed by force of Arms, when all other means proved ineffectual, to be sure it was no less lawful for the Reformed to join themselves with their Countrymen for obtaining the same end by the same means; in such a case they acted not as Reformed, but as Members of the French Nation.

But the Reformed had also private Grievances of their own, occasioned by their Religion, their very Name, wherein the greatest part of the Nation was not engaged; could they with a safe Conscience endeavour to have these redressed with open force, seeing that by such means they involved the whole Nation into the utmost Miseries? Would it not have been better, and more Christian-like, either to submit themselves patiently to the fiercest Persecutions, or to flee into another Country? The Objection is in its full force.

But

But without blaming those who think themselves obliged to take either of these Courses, I say that there is some Circumstances which might render lawful the Resistance even of the small part of a Nation; an Edict solemnly and freely granted by the advice of the Representatives of the whole Nation lawfully assembled, by the King's Proclamation, or a Capitulation made with the said part, how inconsiderable soever, in order to quiet them, and engage them to desist from prosecuting their Rights: When these things, which have been always deemed most sacred amongst Men, are made use of only for deceiving a Party, and betraying it with more ease to Destruction and Ruin, I say that in such Cases, the abused Party has a Right of resisting and opposing force to force.

Now the Edict of January 1561 had been granted to the Reformed by the Advice, and at the Instances of the States General. They considering wisely, that though fires had been kindled in the Kingdom for almost forty Years together, yet far from having been able to destroy the Professors of the Reformed Doctrine, they had only served to increase their Number to such a degree, that it exceeded Two Millions of People of every Rank and Condition in France. They thought it was high time to put a stop to these violent methods used against them, and no less contrary to Humanity than to Christianity, lest they should be provoked to some desperate Attempt. That Edict included nothing contrary

trary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, or to the Liberties and Privileges of the Gallican Church; the King had as much Right to grant it, at least as the Pope has to grant the Jews the free Profession of their Religion in his own Territories. That Edict was very beneficial to the Catholicks themselves, it afforded them a fair opportunity of delivering themselves, if they had a mind, from that shameful Bondage whereunder they are detained to this day, and of attaining the true Knowledge of God and of the Christian Religion: In a word, that Edict was noxious only to those obdurate and base Demetrius's and their Journeymen, who for lucre sake don't stick at any thing. Now that Edict having been granted and sworn to in so solemn a manner, I say that it could not be repealed but by the same Authority whereby it had been enacted, I mean the King advised, not by his Privy Council or any of his Courts of Parliament, but by the States General freely called and assembled.

Nevertheless a private Man, and a Foreigner too, undertakes to break it in its most tender Points, and far from obtaining any Satisfaction, the Deputies of the Reformed received only hard Words and unkind Usage at Court. But for all that, I question much whether the Reformed would have stirred, had it not been for the pressing Instances and repeated Orders of the Queen-Mother, Regent of the Kingdom. But it is certain, that as soon as they thought to have obtained some
Security

Security for Liberty of Conscience and free Exercise of their Religion, they accepted readily the offers of it when tendered unto them, without minding any further Interest.

Such was the Edict of Amboise publish'd in 1563, much less favourable than that of 1561. This Amboisian Treaty would have been as advantageous as the first, had they tarried some time longer, or at least had their principal Chief shown a greater Resolution. It was obtained Sword-in hand, it is true, but besides the Queen-Regent's pressing and positive Orders, had they not the right on their side? Were they not obliged in good Policy to show publickly that they were in a condition of preserving what Privileges had been freely granted unto them in the most solemn manner, in spite of those who were no less the King's and the State's Enemies than theirs? However, as that consideration came into their heads several Months only after the breaking out of the first Civil War, and that at first they acted only out of a principle of Duty to their King, his Mother and the Royal Family, detained, as she said herself, in Captivity, it would not be reasonable to charge them with a view of revenging the publick Injury they had received by the Vassiacan Massacre.

Whatever Abstractions, Restrictions and Modifications were made to the said Edict by the second, the Reformed, generally speaking, were satisfied with it, but their Enemies were not. On one hand the Bullies

lies of the Court, on the other, the Spanish and Romish Emiffaries, instilled these two abominable Principles into the young King's mind: The first gave him continually to understand, that Princes were not obliged to keep their Treaties contracted with their own Subjects, and that even it is honourable for them to revenge themselves of a Treaty which they have been constrained to, by breaking it at the first favourable Opportunity. The others whispered every day in his Ears, that a Catholick is not obliged to keep Faith with Hereticks. True it is, that these pernicious Counsels made very little impresson upon the King's mind as long as Chancellor de L'Hospital had any Credit at Court, and that his Majesty listen'd to his prudent Advices, always full of Moderation; but when that great Man had once lost his ground at Court, and was left in a kind of Exile at his Country Seat, then it was that the Disturbers of the publick Peace, sailing before the Wind, bore down whatever Oppositions they could meet, and ensnared the young King so well, that hence-forward he had so little regard for his Treaties, that he made but a jest to break, without the least Provocation, those he had the most solemnly sworn to.

But how detested those Maxims were by every sober Man, appears by the Judgment which Agricola (*Le Laboureur*) Prier of *Juvigné* makes of them in the first Chapter of the VIIth Book of his Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, and which I have transcribed

transcribed in this Book, page 248, 249, 50, to which I refer the Reader, whereby every one will be satisfied of the falshood of that Hypothesis, that it is dishonourable for a King to capitulate with his Subjects, or to keep faithfully the Capitulation Articles, when he has been obliged to grant any. But methinks such a Judgment is sufficient for clearing the Reformed's Innocence, when they were obliged to oppose force to force.

Had they attempted to settle their Religion by force of Arms, that would be odious before God and Men, but that is not the Case, they suffered patiently the most exquisite Torture, and the bitterest Pains, without murmuring against God, or reviling their Persecutors, or offering any Resistance, but they only endeavoured to preserve what Settlement had been granted unto them; nay, they did not take any Steps towards that Preservation, unless at the last extremity, and when they saw that there was no other means or way left for keeping themselves, their Wives and Children alive. Had they been the first Aggressors, they would be guilty; but let it be proved, and then we shall believe it. Had they risen in Arms for Trifles, or at the first Provocation, we would forsake their Cause; but nothing less than the Honour and Lives of their Wives, Children, and their own, lay at stake, and several of their Neighbours Houses had been burnt down to Ashes before they thought of preserving their own.

True

True it is, that when they began the second Civil War, the Court did not expect it, the Ministry was fully persuaded that they should surprize the Reformed unawares, so it seems that they were the first Aggressors; but the only reading of History will clear them of that Imputation; besides the Modifications, Restrictions, &c. put upon the Amboisian Edict by way of Explanations, as they stiled them, whereby they made it void and of no force: Besides the many Murders and Massacres committed in several Places, and for which no Satisfaction could be obtained, They saw the vast Preparations made against them, six thousand Switzers in the very heart of the Kingdom, all ready to put the Plot laid at *Bayonne* in Execution, and they had so many repeated Warnings from the best hands, of what was hatching in the Queen's Secret Council against them, that really they could do no less, without being too far wanting to themselves, than to put themselves in a posture of Defence, lest they should be prevented by their Enemies. As to the attempt they made to seize upon the King's Person, I have freely delivered my Opinion upon that Subject, in its proper place, and blamed what appears unto me blameworthy.

Now who can be properly called the Aggressor; he who plots secretly the ruin and destruction of the other, or he, who being warned of it, endeavours to avert the threatening Danger? I leave the Decision of that Query, even to a Jesuit. Had the Reformed
been

been the first that had risen in Arms for the defence of their Rights and Privileges, their Proceeding would appear very strange, and may be criminal ; but how many times did not the French before and after the Reformation rise in Arms against their Sovereign, even upon less Provocation, under the Reign of Charles VI. VII. Lewis XI. Lewis XIII. and XIV ? And those who pretend to render the Reformed odious that way, what can they say for proving the lawfulness of their unnatural Rebellion against their lawful Sovereigns Henry III. and IV. which lasted for eight Years and better, and of their barbarous Parricide committed on the Persons of these two Princes ? What then, will they be like that impudent Fellow in Sylla's Proscription, and arraign the Reformed because they did not stretch their Necks of their own accord to have their Throats cut with more ease, because they did not expose their own Wives and Daughters stark naked to satiate their Enemies brutishness ? How then, shall nine or ten Highwaymen and Murderers indite two or three harmless Travellers for the Wounds which five or six of them have received in the fray ? How impudent, unjust and wicked such an Inditement would be, is obvious to every thinking Man : Therefore the Reformed cannot, with any shadow of Reason and Justice, be charged with the Miseries and Calamities, the Kingdom groaned under for above 36 Years, since they were not the Aggressors, and since they were forced to
 fight:

fight for the defence of what is dearest amongst Men.

And it is needless to oppose the Patience of the Christians during the three first Centuries, their Circumstances were not the same. Tho' some of the Emperors, as Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Alexander Severus, and a few others, have not been so rigorous against the Christians, as many of their Predecessors and Successors, yet they never granted them the free publick Exercise of their Religion, which was always strictly forbidden by the Laws of the Empire, till the time of Constantine the Great; therefore as there was no standing Laws in their behalf, as they could not meet together for Divine Worship without violating the standing Laws, they would have been extremely blamable, had they attempted to oppose force to force: But that was not the Case of the Reformed in France after the first Edict in their behalf: That Edict was a standing Law, whereby they were authorized to meet publickly together, and to perform all other parts of their Religious Worship, and whereby it was forbidden to any Person of what Rank and Quality soever to disturb or molest them on account of their Religion, as long as they kept themselves in the bounds prescribed by that Law. Consequently the Reformed being assaulted against their Privileges, and without any Provocation on their Part, had a Right of resisting their King, and opposing force to force.

The Nature of a Preface doth not allow me to enlarge myself any further upon that Subject, it would be an easy matter to prove that these our Enemies Charges proceed rather from their hatred against us, than from any settled principle of Duty and Allegiance to Kings and Magistrates, or from any Conviction of their Conscience; but that would be needless, **THEY SHOW THEIR FAITH BY THEIR WORKS.**

Now to come to this part of our History: I have been obliged to divide this Volume into two Parts. This first hath been swelled up with some Relations which may appear, at the first sight, to be something foreign to our main design. The short Account I give of the Council of *Trent*; of the Rise, Progress and Settlement of the Jesuits in *France*; of the Reformation in the *Low Countries*, and the cruel Government of the Duke of Alva, could have been omitted, it is true, but not easily, without leaving the Reader at a loss, when he will see in this History, that how favourable soever to the Popes the Kings of France have been, the Parliaments, especially that of Paris, could never be prevailed upon to receive the Council of *Trent*, and to publish it in the Kingdom; That the Jesuits, whereof no mention is made before this time, have done such and such things; That the Reformed of *France* and those of the *Low Countries*, did mutually assist one another in several Occasions. Therefore I hope he will excuse these necessary Digressions, intended
only

only for saving him the trouble of perusing other Books, for getting an Information of these things.

If I have been some thing out of humour in speaking of the Duke of Alva's cruel Government, and in relating the Massacre of Bartholomew's-Day, and other Particulars bearing some Resemblance with these; I hope again, that the Reader will excuse me, considering that such Villanies as these cannot be thought of without Horror, and that it is next to impossible for a feeling Man to relate them without the utmost Detestation: *What the Heart feels, the Mouth speaks, and the Hand writes.*

An Author must not be deemed Partial, unless when he magnifies the Objects on each side, when he conceals the right and good Actions of the contrary Party, and good Qualities and Virtues of an Enemy; and the Wrongs and Injustices of his own, the Vices, bad Qualities and Faults of Friends, and it is what I have not done, as far as I remember; and if I am guilty in that respect, and shewn of my Faults, I am ready to submit. But for venting one's Indignation by some scornful or odious Epithet, that I don't take to be Partiality, provided it should be deservedly bestowed upon the Actor.

And now it remains only to warn the Reader, that the next Contents are the most correct, exactly the same Articles as contained in the Margents of the Book.





HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION,
AND OF THE
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

VOL. III.
The First Part.

BOOK V.

*Containing the History of eleven Years, two Months,
and eleven days, from the 19th of March 1563
to the Death of Charles IX. on the 30th of May
1574.*

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION. *Means made use
of by the Queen-Mother to extricate herself out of
her fears. She sent Deputies into the several
Provinces of the Kingdom. The Parliament of
Thoulouse refractory. Edit̄ for raising a vast
Sum upon the Clergy. The Queen endeavours
to corrupt the Prince. War proclaimed against
England. Havre de Grace taken from the Eng-
lish. The English Embassadors arrested. Peace
made between the two Crowns. Charles IX.
declared of Age at Rouën. The Parliament of
Paris opposes in vain. The Dowager of Guise*
VOL. B *petitions*

The CONTENTS.

petitions for Justice. The fourth National Synod. The Conclusion of the Council of Trent. A short Account of that Council. The King takes under his Protection the Queen of Navarr, some Archbishops and Bishops. A General Interview of the Catholick Powers proposed. The King is intreated by several Powers to receive the Council of Trent. Why he did not comply. The King's Ediēt for beginning the Year by the first of January. He begins the Visit of his Kingdom. Injustices of Damville in Languedoc. The King comes to Roussillon. The Ediēt of Roussillon. A Plot against the Queen of Navarr discovered. Cardinal of Lorraine affronted at Paris: Why. The King's Interview with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne. A Law-Suit between the University of Paris and the Jesuits. A short Account of the Rise, Progress, and Settlement of the Jesuits in France. The Cardinal's War. The fifth National Synod. Assembly of the Notables at Moulins. Execution of Simon May at Paris. A short Account of the Reformation in the Low-Countries. Trial and Sufferings of Merula. Continuation of the State of Religion in the Low-Countries. Of the Cardinal of Granvelle. Continuation of the Affairs in the Low-Countries. The Queen-Mother makes great Preparations for oppressing the Reformed. Several Occurrences of the Year 1567. The sixth National Synod. Every thing disposed to a Rupture between the two Parties in France. The Prince of Condé and his Council resolve upon a War. Father Daniel censured. Attempts to seize the King at Meaux. The second Civil War. Several Parleys between the Court and the Prince. Battle of St. Denis. The Constable's Death. The King's Forces increase every day. The Prince marches out of St.

The CONTENTS.

3

St. Denis. Several Provinces and Cities declare for the Prince; and send Troops to his Assistance. The Court sends Embassadors into Germany; they represent against the Prince and his Adherents; they prevail with several Princes. The Royal Army marches against the Prince. The Queen-Mother comes to the Camp. She endeavours to surprize the Confederates unawares. She feigns a willingness of coming to some Agreement. Unsuccessful Conferences. The Confederates join the Germans. Great Generosity of the Prince's Army. La Rochelle declares for the Prince. A short Account of that City. How the Affairs stood in the Southern Provinces. Orleans relieved. Blois taken by de Mouvans. Montluc's Exploits in Guienn. The Prince's Army's Progress; his Method for subsisting it. Siege of Chartres. Peace of Longjumeau followed with an Ediēt. How the Articles were kept. Continuation of the Affairs of the Low-Countries. Alva's arrival at Bruxelles. His base and cruel Proceedings. Wicked and detestable Articles and Decisions of the Spanish Inquisition. The Governess of the Low-Countries resigns the Government. The Prince of Orange raises an Army. Lamentable Death of Don Carlos and Queen Elizabeth of Spain. New Kind of Torture. Alva's Pride. Horrid neglect in the Administration of Justice. Gourgue's Expedition in the West-Indies. Captain Peyrot's Expedition at Madeira. Infractions of the last Ediēt of Peace. The Queen's Devices for sowing Divisions amongst the Reformed. Chancellor de l'Hospital disgraced. Attempts to seize the Prince and the Admiral. Causes of the third Civil War impartially considered. The Prince and the Admiral's Escape, and the third Civil War. The Queen of Navarr with

her Children, and several Lords, joins the Prince at La Rochelle. Both Parties publish their Manifestoes. The Prince and his Adherents solemn Oath. Edicts for and against the Reformed. Several Transactions of both Parties till the latter end of 1567. Provisions made by the Queen of Navarr. The King sends several Embassadors. Of Telligny. Of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres. Of Lavardin. Of the Count of Crussol. Of Mouvans, Montbrun, and Pierre-Gourde. Of La Noüe, surnamed Iron-Arm. Propositions of Peace. A Fleet fitted out by the Prince. St. Michael's Monastery destroyed. Sancerre besieged without Success. The Battle of Bassac. The Prince of Condé treacherously murdered; further Addition to his Character. His Army routed. Consequences of the Battle. Preparations for the Campaign. The Queen of Navarr comes to the Confederates Army. The Prince of Navarr declared Generalissimo and Protector of the Reformed. What was the Protectorship amongst the Reformed. The Admiral declared Lieutenant to the Prince. D'Andelot's Death. Buchard's Death. The march of the Auxiliaries of Germany to the Prince's Assistance. The Queen-Mother comes to her Son's Army. The Duke of Deux-Pont's Death. Junction of the Germans with the Prince. The Prince's Petition to the King ill-received. Progress of the Prince. Siege of Poitiers. Proclamation of the Parliament of Paris against the Admiral, &c. His Valet de Chambre bribed to poison him. Exploits and Injustices of Montgomery in Bearn. The Battle of Montcontour. Retreat of the Princes. Exploits of the Duke of Anjou after the Battle. Siege of Niort. Mouy wounded by Maurevel. Some Account of that Man. The Court comes to the Duke's

The CONTENTS.

5

Duke's Camp. Siege of St. John of Angely. It capitulates. The Court removes to Angers. Divers Exploits of the Reformed. Nimes surpris'd by them. And Vezelay. Great Cruelties of the Catholicks. Exploits of La Noüe in Xaintonge, &c. Great Journey of the Prince's Army. Ediēt of Peace at St. Germain. Some general Observations upon this Ediēt. The Prince, &c. go to Rochelle. Some Marriages at Court. The King's Marriage. Complaints of the Catholicks and of the Reformed about the Ediēt. Massacres of the Reformed at Orange, Rouen, &c. The King's publick Entry at Paris. The Queen's Coronation. The 7th National Synod. Great Tumults at Paris. The Deputies of the Prince return to Rochel. Biron comes to Rochel for treating of an Alliance. Answer of the Queen of Navarr. Several Occurrences to the latter end of 1571. Second Marriage of the Admiral. That of Telligny. Death of Cardinal de Chatillon in England. The Court comes to Blois. Lignerolles murdered. The Count of Nassau comes to Court incognito. The Admiral comes to Court. He goes to Chatillon with the King's leave. Several Occurrences from the beginning of 1572 down to Bartholomew's Massacre. The Princess of Montpensier's Escape. The Guises leave the Court, feigning to be discontented. The Legate Alexandrine arrives at Court. Pius V's death. Gregory XIII succeeds him. The Queen of Navarr arrives at Court. Alliance with the Queen of England. The 8th National Synod. The Admiral unmoveable in his Resolution. The Queen of Navarr goes to Paris; she dies there; her last Will; her Letter to Prince Henry her Son. Count Ludovick's Expedition in the Low-Countries. The King of Navarr intreated to come to Court.

The CONTENTS.

The Admiral goes to Paris; his rash Proposition to the King. The King of Navarr arrives at Paris. Genlis routed in Flanders, The Admiral more and more deceived. Wholesome warning of the Bishop of Valence. The Ceremony of the Wedding. Preparations for the Massacre. The Admiral wounded. Transactions of the two Days before the Massacre. Massacre of the Admiral. Massacre of Paris. Some general Observations upon the whole. Charles's exceeding baseness and cruelty; his breach of Faith to the Princes. He has a mind to charge the Guises with the odium of the Massacre; they prevail against him, and he owns the Fact in the Parliament. He sent Orders for the Massacres in the Provinces. Some escaped from the Massacre of Paris. Some farther Particulars relating to that Event. How the News of it was received abroad. Effects of those Cruelties upon Charles. Occurrences of the five last Months of 1572. The fourth Civil War. Siege of La Rochelle. Siege of Sancerre. Dreadful Famine in that Town. Their Deliverance. Their Capitulation. The Affairs of Guienn. Siege of Sommieres. Reception of the Polish Embassadors at Paris. The Queen's Devices for delaying Henry her Son's Journey. He sets out for Poland. His Reception at the Palatine's Court. The Polish Embassadors Request. The Petitions of the Reformed. Their new Regulations in Languedoc. Books and Libels against the Government. The Duke of Alençon courted by the Flemish; and by the Reformed and Politicians in France. A Plot against Rochelle discovered. Grammont seized in his own Castle. New Confederacy of the Reformed in Languedoc and their Manifesto. Perplexity of the State's Ministers at it. Alençon takes upon him the
Protestation

The CONTENTS.

72

Protection of the Reformed and Politicians. The Duke of Montmorancy asks the Lieutenancy for the Duke of Alençon. The Queen-Mother's Artifices for carrying her point against the Duke her Son. The said Duke's Plot discovered. Great Confusion at Court. Insurrection in Poitou, &c. Vain Attempt of the Royalists upon Nimes. Damville's Conduct in Languedoc; and of Montbrun in Dauphiné, and of Montgomery, Colombieres, &c. in Normandy. The fifth Civil War. Alençon and Navarr declared themselves against the Plot. The Prince of Condé's Escape. Court's Measures for bringing the pretended Conspirators upon their Tryal. La Molle, Coconnas, &c. arrested, and tried. Alençon and Navarr different Answers. La Molle, Coconnas, &c. condemned, and executed. The Marshals of Montmorancy and Cossé arrested. Operations of the three Royal Armies in Poitou, Languedoc, and Normandy. That of Poitou. That of Languedoc. That of Normandy. Montgomery surrenders to Matignon. The King drawing near his end declares his Mother Regent. King Charles's Death. His Character.

THE

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HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION,
AND OF THE
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

VOL. III.

Containing the History of 47 Years, two Months, wanting five days, from the Ediēt given at Amboise on the 19th of March 1563, to the Death of Henry IV. on the 14th of May 1610.

BOOK V.

Containing the History of 11 Years, two Months, and eleven days, from the 19th of March 1563 to the Death of Charles IX. on the 30th of May 1574.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION. I. Means made use *March*
of by the Queen-Mother to extricate herself from *1563.*
the difficulties and fears she was under. II. She
sent Deputies into the Provinces for settling
every thing according to the Ediēt. III. The
Parliament of Thoulouse refractory. IV. Ediēt
for raising two millions five hundred Livres upon
the Clergy. V. The Queen's endeavours for
corrupting the Prince. VI. Declaration of War
B *against*

The CONTENTS.

- against England.* VII. *Havre de Grace taken from the English.* VIII. *The English Ambassadors arrested Prisoners.* IX. *Peace made between the two Crowns.* X. *Charles IX. declared of Age in the Parliament of Rouen.* XI. *That of Paris opposes in vain.* XII. *The Dowager of Guise petitions for Justice against her Husband's Murderers.* XIII. *The fourth National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France.* XIV. *The Conclusion of the Council of Trent.* XV. *A short Account of that Council.* XVI. *The King takes under his Protection the Queen of Navarr, and some Archbishops and Bishops of France against the Pope.* XVII. *The King's Ediēt for beginning the Year on the first of January.* XVIII. *He is intreated by several Powers to receive the Council of Trent: why he did not comply.* XIX. *He begins his Journey throughout his Kingdom.* XX. *Great Instances made to the King to destroy the Reformed.* XXI. *Ediēt of Roussillon, whereby that of Amboise is almost made void.* XXII. *The Cardinal of Lorraine affronted at Paris: why.* XXIII. *The King's Interview and Conferences with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne afford just occasion of Jealousies to the Reformed.* XXIV. *Some Alterations at Nerac, &c. in behalf of the Catholicks.* XXV. *Assembly of the Notables at Moulins.* XXVI. *The Prince of Condé endeavours to engage the King in a War against Spain.* XXVII. *He desires to be made Constable; the Duke of Anjou threatens him; Great Dissimulation of the Queen-Mother.* XXVIII. *A Law-Suit at Paris between the University and the Jesuits.* XXIX. *A short Account of the Rise, Progress and Settlement of the Jesuits in France.* XXX. *The fifth National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France.* XXXI.
- Execu-*

The CONTENTS.

Execution of Simon May at Paris. XXXII.
New Vexations of the Reformed. XXXIII. *The* July 1567.
Queen of Navarr forbids the Catholick Religion
in her own Dominions. XXXIV. *Great Dis-*
content of the Reformed. XXXV. *They sup-*
port those of the Low Countries. XXXVI. *A*
short Account of the Reformation in these Pro-
vinces; exceeding Cruelties of the Duke of Alva
Governor thereof. XXXVII. *The sixth Natio-*
nal Synod. XXXVIII. *The second civil War;*
Causes and Reasons thereof considered. XXXIX.
The Prince of Condé attempts to seize the King
at Meaux, and miscarries. XL. *Several Cities*
seized by the Reformed: Paris blocked up.
 XLI. *Battel of St. Denis: The Constable woun-*
ded to death; his dying Words and Counsels to
the Queen-Regent. XLII. *The Exploits of the*
two Parties to the latter end of this Year.
 XLIII. *La Rochelle declares for the Prince.* 1568.
 XLIV. *Prince Casimir, Son to the Elector Pa-*
latine, leads an Army to the Prince's assistance;
they seize upon several Cities. XLV. *A sham*
Peace. XLVI. *Consequences of it.* XLVII.
Expedition of Gcurgues into Florida. XLVIII.
La Rochelle, Montauban, &c. refuse to receive
Garrisons from the King. XLIX. *An Attempt*
to seize the Prince and the Admiral, miscarried.
 L. *Chancellor de l'Hospital suspected and dis-*
graced. LI. *The third Civil War; Causes*
and Reasons thereof considered. LII. *The Queen*
of Navarr leads the Prince her Son to the Prince
of Condé. LIII. *Several Lords join likewise*
his Highness at La Rochelle. LIV. *Of Fran-*
cis de la Nouë surnamed Iron-Arm. LV. *Three*
Edicts against the Reformed. LVI. *Their Forces*
and Exploits from October to the latter end of
this Year. LVII. *The Queen of Navarr and*
the Reformed Party desire the Protection of

The CONTENTS.

1569. *Queen Elizabeth; she readily grants their Request. LVIII. The Queen-Regent tries in vain to come to an Agreement with the Prince. LIX. First Siege of Sancerre. LX. Battle of Jarnac; the Prince of Condé wounded, then murdered in cool Blood by MONTESQUIOU; a further addition to his Character. LXI. Consequences of that Battel. LXII. Great Magnanimity of the Queen of Navarr: The Prince her Son declared Chief of the Reformed Party; and the Admiral his Lieutenant-General. D'Andelot's Death. LXIII. The Army of the Prince of Deux-Ponts joins the Reformed Army. LXIV. Divers Exploits of the two Parties to the 3d of October. LXV. Battel of Montcontour; the Reformed lose the day. LXVI. Exploits of the two Parties to the 8th of October, 1570. LXVII. Ediēt of Peace made at St. Germain en Laye. LXVIII. True Motives of it. LXIX. The King's Wedding with Elizabeth of Austria celebrated at Mezieres. LXX. He makes his publick Entry at Paris. LXXI. Propositions of Marriage between the Prince of Navarr and the Princess Margaret, Sister to the King, tendered to the Queen of Navarr. LXXII. The seventh National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France. LXXIII. They feign at Court an earnest Desire to declare War against Spain, in order to draw the Admiral into the Snare. LXXIV. The Prince of Navarr's Marriage concluded at Blois by the Queen his Mother. LXXV. The eighth National Synod of the Reformed in France. LXXVI. The Queen of Navarr dies at Paris; one of her Letters to the Prince her Son, wherein she gives him a Description of the Court of France. LXXVII. The King of Navarr arrives at Court some days after his Mother's Death. LXXVIII. The Ceremony*
- Octob. 8th.
 1570.
- March
 1571.
- 1572.

The CONTENTS.

remony of that Prince's Marriage with Princess Margaret performed at Paris. LXXIX.
The Admiral wounded by MAUREVEL. LXXX.
Inhumanly murdered two days after. LXXXI.
The Massacre of Bartholomew's day. LXXXII.
Some Queries about that shameful Tragedy.
 LXXXIII. *The King acknowledges that it had been done by his Orders.* LXXXIV. *The King of Navarr, and the Prince of Condé, with his Brethren, Sons to the late murdered at Jarnac, are forced to turn Catholicks.* LXXXV.
The King of Navarr forced to publish an Ediēt forbidding Calvinism in his own Dominions; but without effect. LXXXVI. *A new Declaration for the Safety of the Reformed.* LXXXVII. *The Rochelese sollicitied to submit to the King; but in vain.* LXXXVIII. *The fourth Civil War.* LXXXIX. *First Siege of La Rochelle.* XC. *Assembly of the Reformed at Realmont.* XCI. *Second Siege of Sancerre.* XCII. *The Duke of Anjou arrives before La Rochelle.* XCIII. *He is elected King of Poland.* XCIV. *The Siege of La Rochelle raised.* XCV. *A new Ediēt of Peace.* XCVI. *The Duke of Anjou sets out for Poland.* XCVII. *The Deputies of the Reformed tender their Petitions to the King.* XCVIII. *They made a new Confederation, the Instrument whereof is signed at Millau.* XCIX. *A new Party formed in France, headed by the Duke of Alençon, youngest Brother to the King, joined with that of the Reformed.* C. *The King of Navarr and the Duke of Alençon put under Arrest, the Marshals of Montmorency, and Cossé taken Prisoners.* CI. *The Prince of Condé makes his Escape, and retires to Strasbourg, where he renounces the Roman Religion.* CII. *Montgomery taken Prisoner at Domfront, tried and condemned to Death,*

1573.

1574.

6 *History of the Reformation, and of the* VOL. III.
and executed. CIII. Charles IX's Death.
Character of that Prince.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Introduc-
tion.

THE Peace concluded at Amboise was no less necessary to the Catholicks than to the Reformed; this we must infer from the pathetick Description of the sad Condition the Kingdom was in, given by the Lord Castelnau de Mauvissiere in his Memoirs written for the use of his own Son (*a*).

The Queen Regent was not ignorant of it, but what induced her chiefly, to be in such a hurry for concluding the Treaty, was, her Greediness after Power and Authority; she thought that she could never enjoy soon enough the Sweetness of Governing without any Controul; for the Heads or Support of the Triumvirate being dead, there remained only the Constable, whose old Age secured her from all Apprehensions of his undertaking any thing against her own Authority.

As to the Prince of Condé, she was in great hopes of winning him to her Interest one way or another, such being the situation of her Mind, she dreaded nothing more than to see the Treaty thwarted before concluded; or unperformed after its Conclusion, whereby the Reformed would have been obliged to stand in Arms, or to take them up again, and renew a War, which then would have put the greatest Obstacles to the execution of her Designs.

She declared her fears upon that account to Mr. de Gonnor, Super-Intendant of her Exchequer, (known afterwards by the Name and Title of Marshal de Coslé) dated the 27th of April, 1563 (*b*).

There-

(*a*) Memoires de Castelnau, Liv. V. ch. 1.

(*b*) Le Laboureur Additions aux Mem. de Castelnau, Vol. II. liv. IV. ch. 12. pag. 246.

Therefore in order to avoid the first Inconvenience, the Prince had no sooner concluded the Treaty with her, but she sent some of her most trusty Confidants to Paris for engaging the Parliament in a Compliance with her Desires, and to ratify the Edict of Pacification; wherein, after some struggles, she succeeded better than she expected, and the Peace having been published in the Camp and at Orleans, the King made his publick Entry into that City on the 29th of April.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

I.
Means made use of by the Queen Mother to extricate herself out of her fears.

Then for avoiding the second Inconvenience, she sent some Deputies into several Provinces, especially into Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, with Orders to settle every thing according to the Edict, and to cause it to be observed by every one. Besides that, Orders were sent on the 18th of June to the said Deputies enjoining them to recal without delay, the Reformed that had been exiled for their Religion sake, or on account of the late Troubles, to return to them the price of those of their Goods that had been sold by Auction; not to delay upon any account soever the Restitution of those of their Moveables that had not been sold; the same thing was ordered as to their Immoveables; which however was to be understood only of those Goods, Moveables or Immoveables, which had not been plundered by the Soldiery at the taking of the Cities, &c. Furthermore, it was ordered, That all the Captives for Religion sake should be immediately set at liberty. Lastly, they were ordered to inquire into the Conduct of those Judges or other Magistrates who should show themselves remiss, or partial and unjust in the discharge of their Office as to the execution of the Edict, and to punish them according to Law (c).

II.
She sent Deputies into the several Provinces, &c.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

III
*The Parli-
ament of
Thouluse
refractory.*

The Parliament of Thoulouse was one of the most refractory, and when they had published the Edict, they expelled from their House the Counsellors Arnold Cavagne and Gabriel Du Bourg, whose Religion was suspected; but upon proper Application of the Plaintiffs to the King's Council, they were after several Jussions restored to their Dignities; and a few days after the Decrees of the same Parliament against *Lanta*, *Pastorel*, and several others of their Body who had been deprived the Year before, and against *Mandinelli* who had been beheaded, were reversed by the King's Council, and likewise whatever the said Parliament had done against them, or their Families, and they were all restored to their good Name and Fame, Honours and Estates.

While those things were a doing at Thoulouse, *Damville*, Son to the Constable of Montmorancy having obtained the Reversion of the Government of Languedoc, which his Father enjoyed, went into that Province, and behaved himself towards the Reformed with a great deal of Injustice and Severity, nay with the greatest Cruelty; and indeed he deprived them of several things that had been expressly granted by the Edict, and explained the remaining part in a way quite contrary to the obvious meaning of the Words; the worst of all was, that his Conduct was approved of by the Court, and no Redress of their Grievances could be obtained by the Reformed. But more of this afterwards, when we shall relate on a thread the many just Subjects of Complaints the Reformed had (*d*).

IV.
*Edict for
raising a
vast Sum
upon the
Chrgy.*

On the seventh of *May* an Edict was published, whereby one hundred thousand Crowns of
yearly

(*d*) Thuan. ubi supra.

yearly Rent (*) over the Church's Lands and other immoveable Goods belonging to it, were mortgaged to the best Bidder for the discharge of the publick Debts, which was executed with great Rigour: If the Clergy were incensed already against the Court for having granted Liberty of Conscience to the Reformed, they were put almost out of all patience at this Step.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

But a little time after they were much appeased by Chancellor de l'Hospital granting them the Faculty of redeeming the same, and causing another Edict to be published whereby the Reformed were obliged to pay them the Tythes(e).

Two things remained still which made the Queen Regent uneasy; the Conduct of the Prince, and the Havre de Grace which was in the possession of the English.

How artfully soever the Queen-Mother behaved herself, it was not in her power to part the Prince from the Admiral, nor to dazzle him with an idle Fancy of a Kingdom of Sardinia, as his Brother the King of Navarr had been: But she endeavoured to win him to her own Interest by the Allurements of Sensuality, and the fair LIMEUIL one of her Maids of Honour was the unfortunate Victim she offered up to her own Ambition. And indeed she succeeded so well by these means, that for a time the Prince seemed to have quite forgotten the care of his own Reputation and Honour; the Princess his Consort not able to recal him from this evil Course, died

V.
The Queen endeavours to corrupt the Prince.

(*) Mr. Jurieu says, that there was for two Millions five hundred thousand Livres of Church Lands, &c. sold at a very low rate, and that the temporal Jurisdiction over the City of Lyons, enjoyed till then by its Archbishop, was bought for the King for thirty Thousand Livres. *Abregé de l'Hist. du Concile de Trente*, Tom. II. lib. viii. p. 395.

(e) *Idem* *ibid.* pag. 245, and 250.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

died with Grief. Then it was that the Queen conceived greater hopes than ever of succeeding in her Designs, doubting not but that she would prevail with the Prince to marry one that was in her Interest. She pitched upon MARGARET DE LUSTRAC, Widow of the Marshal of St. Andrew; as she was the richest Party in the Kingdom, it was very likely that the Prince, whose Income was not sufficient for maintaining him according to his Rank and Dignity, would be glad of an opportunity which should enable him to discharge his Debts, and to live after a Way suitable to his Condition, as well as to his Humour: Therefore, as the Lady was very ambitious, it was not a difficult Task to engage her to do all in her power for inspiring the Prince with Love for her. But it succeeded quite contrary to her Expectation; for instead of inspiring the Prince with Love for her, she fell herself into such a violent Passion for him, that she bought the Gratification of her unlawful Desires at the price of her own Estate of St. Valery, one of the finest in the Kingdom, and of many thousand Livres of yearly Rent (*f*).

The Admiral being very sensible of the great Mischiefs which might ensue from such a disorderly Life of the Chief of the Party, prevailed at last by his Intreaties with him, and engaged him to forsake it, and to marry Frances of Orleans, Sister to the Duke of Longueville; notwithstanding the Endeavours of the House of Guise, who, in order to win him to their Interest, flattered him with the hopes of marrying MARY their Niece, Queen of Scotland. I have a little anticipated the times, for the Prince was married only the next Year (*g*).

Now

(*f*) Idem Ibid. pag. 243, 244.

(*g*) Id. Ibid. Mezeray, 3d Part, Tom. V. p. 77, 78.

Now every thing was ready for the Siege of Havre de Grace. A Trumpet had been sent to the Earl of Warwick, Governor of that Place, summoning him in the King's Name to surrender it; to which having answered, that if *Calais* was restored to England, he would readily surrender the *Place*; but if not, he would keep it and be upon the Defensive; a War against Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed on the 5th of July, the King being at *Gaillon*. On the 20th the Constable came to the Camp, with the Marshal of Montmorancy his Son, and the Marshal of Bourdillon, and other Lords, and the Chiefs of the Nobility. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Montpensier arrived likewise, and it was observed, that, of the whole Army, none shewed so great a Zeal, nor fought with so much Chearfulness and Ardour, as the Reformed did, whereof great Notice was taken at Court; whereupon I shall relate here the Reply made by MONEINS an Officer of the Reformed Religion to Sir——

LEIGHTON; Leighton perceiving Moneins in a Parley, told him, *That he was surprized to see him, and so many others, amongst their Enemies, since they had fought together at Rouën against the same Enemies.* To which Moneins replied, *As you do now stand in Arms for the Defence of your Queen, so we do for that of our King; it is no more a question of our Religion, for which the King has made sufficient Provisions by his late Edict, but it is a question of the Limits of the Kingdom; therefore do not be surprized, if the Reason of our Union being ceased, we are suddenly turned Enemies, ready to destroy one another, except you would give a speedy Satisfaction to his Majesty for the controverted Place now in your possession.*

However it cannot be denied that the Prince of Condé had been very ungrateful to the Queen
of

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

VI.
War pro-
claimed
against
England.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

of England his good Friend, and at the same time he shewed himself a very bad Politician ; for not only he concluded his Treaty with the King, without taking any care to have that Princess included in it, nay, without giving her any previous Notice of it, as he was obliged to do by the Articles of the Treaty of London, to which he had subscribed ; but he displayed all his Might to have her driven out of a Place which he himself had put into her hands. Very likely for these Reasons it was, that the Admiral and D'Andelot his Brother did not think proper to assist in the King's Army.

VII.
*Harre de
Grace ta-
ken from the
English.*

The Earl of Warwick defended the Place some time with great Bravery and Intrepidity, but the Plague which raged in the Town, daily swept away many of his Men, and besides that a Letter of SMITH, Embassador of England, directed to the Earl, (whereby he gave him Notice of the sudden arrival of the Succours sent from Queen Elizabeth) having been intercepted, and another sent in its stead, whereby the said Earl was made to believe that he ought not to expect any Succour from England ; these two Considerations reduced him to the Necessity of a Capitulation, whereby the Town was to be restored to the King ; the Prisoners on both sides to be set at liberty ; the Earl, with the Garison, and all the People with him in the Town, and all the Ammunitions and other Effects belonging to the English, to retire with all Safety to England, &c. These are the chief Articles of the Capitulation, which were to be fully executed in six days (*b*).

The very next day arrived in the Road a Succour of 1800 Men coming from Eng'land, which were followed two days after by a Fleet of 60 Sail

(*b*) Mem. de Castelnau, liv. V. ch. 2, 3. Thuan. lib. 35. p. 246, &c.

Sail commanded by Admiral CLINTON. But understanding that the Capitulation was signed, they did not attempt to make a Descent, and waited only for the remaining part of the Garifon, which to the Number of above 3000 came on board on the 30th of July, and put to sea immediately.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

At the beginning of the Siege the Garifon was six thousand strong, besides a body of French Reformed Soldiers, who detesting the Ungratefulness of their Chief, offered their Services to the Earl of Warwick, and were admitted in the Town, six Hundred whereof perished during the Siege either by the Plague or by the Sword, and the rest came over to England with the Earl, and were kindly received by Queen Elizabeth. The next day SARLABOS was made Governor of the Place for the King (i).

The English Forces which had served in France bringing the Plague with them into England, it made a terrible havock especially in London, where above twenty Thousand died of it in a little time.

Havre de Grace being taken, the French and English were for some Months rather in a State of Inaction than of Peace. Queen Elizabeth had sent Orders to her Embassadors THROCKMORTON and SMITH to make all haste they could to meet the King in Normandy. But his Majesty, or rather the Queen Regent, unwilling to receive them, had sent CASTELNAU DE MAUVISSIERE with Orders to arrest them, because they were come over without a Pass, the War being declared against England; but it was done especially by Reprisal, because DE FOIX, the French Embassador had been arrested at London, and the King was advised to do the same with Smith;

VIII.
*The English
Embassad-
ors arrest-
ed.*

(i) E. I. B. id. D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. liv. III. di. 2.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Smith ; and not to receive Throckmorton upon any account soever, but rather to send him Prisoner into some strong Hold, as a Disturber of the publick Peace. Castelnau executed his Commission ; Throckmorton was sent to the Castle of St. Germain en Laye under a strong Guard ; and Smith to the Castle of Melun.

IX.
*Peacemade
between
the two
Crowns.*

This last shewed a great deal more of Moderation under this Misfortune than the first, and it was he who made the first Overture of a Peace, which came at last to a happy Conclusion the next Year 1564, and was proclaimed at Troyes in Champaign on the 13th of April (*k*).

By this Treaty the King of France and the Queen of England preserved entire all their Pretensions, without mentioning any in particular, not even the Restitution of Calais : (for tho' by the Treaty of Chateau-Cambresis in 1559, Henry II. had agreed to restore that Place to the Crown of England, or to pay down 500,000 Crowns in eight Years, during which time neither of the Parties ought to attempt any thing against the other, nevertheless the French Council pretended, that Queen Elizabeth had forfeited her Right to that Place, because she had relieved the Reformed with her Forces and Money :) There were only some separate Articles which were left unsigned till the next day, concerning the Hostages delivered to Queen Elizabeth, after the Treaty of Chateau ; she restored them to their Liberty for the Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Crowns.

X.
*Charles
IX. declared
of Age
at Rouën.*

During the Siege, King Charles came to the 14th Year of his Age, and being arrived at Rouën, the Queen Regent in order to put the Prince of Condé and the Constable out of all hopes of having any Share in the publick Administration

(*k*) Mem. de Castelnau, liv. V. ch. 4. & 7.

ministration of the Government, and to engross it all to herself, under the King's Name, resolved, by the Chancellor's Advice, to have the King declared of Age, and for that end to renew the Constitution of Charles V. King of France, whereby, after the Example of *Joas, Josias, Solomon,* &c. the Kings, having attained the 14th Year of their Age, are declared capable of the Administration of their Kingdom; which Constitution bears date the 20th of May, 1374 (1).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

This Constitution very likely has never been well understood, for it is not said expressly, whether the King must have fourteen Years compleat, or whether he shall be of Age at the beginning of the fourteenth Year. By the Common Law the fourteen Years compleat are requisite to be declared of Age; but the Chancellor willing to please the Queen, persuaded her not to stay for the fulness of the fourteen Years, and said, that in such Cases favourable, when the Year is begun, it is to be reckoned as compleat; and whether he was afraid lest the Parliament of Paris would oppose that Opinion, because it was doubtful whether it was advantageous for the Good and the Welfare of the Kingdom, or not; he advised her Majesty to bring the King to the Parliament of Rouën for performing that Ceremony.

Accordingly the King came to the Parliament on the 17th of August, with the Queen his Mother, the Duke of Orleans, the Princes of the Blood, and all the Lords then at Court; and after a seasonable Speech on the present juncture, which had been composed by the Chancellor, he was proclaimed of Age; then he published an Edict, which was afterwards registered in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, whereby he declared that the Edict which he had granted before

for

(1) Thuan. lib. XXXV. pag. 248.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. for the Liberty of Conscience ought to be observed, till the Points controverted should be decided by the Council, or till he himself should order otherwise; that whosoever should break it would be treated as a Rebel; that every one in the Kingdom should disarm, and renounce all manner of League or Association with Foreigners; that he would spare no body, not even his own Brethren, if they acted contrary to this.

XI. *The Parliament of Paris opposes in vain.* The Edict of the King's Age was not registered by the Parliament of Paris without much ado: The first President De Thou and two others were deputed to make their Remonstrances to the King upon that account. But the King, having received his Lesson of his Mother, bid them with a very severe Countenance to obey, and not meddle with the publick Administration of the Kingdom; and to renounce that old Error, That they were the King's Tutors, the Defenders of the Kingdom, and the Guardians of the City of Paris. His Majesty would not come to Paris till the Parliament had obeyed, which it did at last after the second Command, on the 28th of September (*m*). La Hode places this Event on the 28th of October (*).

XII. *The Dowager of Guise petitions for Justice.* The King arrived in his Capital about the latter end of October, and the Mother of the late Duke of Guise, his Widow, his Children, several of his Relations attended by a vast number of his Adherents, walking two by two along the Streets, all in deep Mourning, came to Court in December next, to require Justice against the late Duke's Murderers. That doleful
Sight

(*m*) Id. Ibid. Mezeray, 3d Par. Tom. V. p. 80.

(*) There is no Law in the Kingdom for preferring one Parliament to another for the Performance of that Ceremony.
DE LA HODE. *Fastes des Roix de France*, p. 148.

Sight was prepared purposely to move the Affections of the People towards that illustrious Family, yet more Ambitious than Noble, and they succeeded to their Wishes, for the Mob ran after them, and followed the Procession to the Palace: Being admitted to the King's Presence, they all fell upon their Knees; the King was much moved at that Sight, however he received them very kindly, and having raised up again the Duchess Mother and the Widow, he hearkened to their Complaints with a great deal of Compassion, either real or affected, and promised to do them Justice in a proper time. The young Dowager, in her Speech, had directly pointed at the Admiral, tho' she had not named him; and the Prince of Condé had already declared in the King's Council, by a publick Instrument, on the 15th of May, that considering that the said Admiral was his good Friend, Uncle to the Princess his Consort, and great Uncle to his Children, who, besides that, had deserved very well of the King and the Kingdom by his glorious and generous Feats; he took him so far under his Protection, that whosoever should attack him otherwise than as Law directed, he would deem him his own Enemy. The Marshal of Montmorancy had spoken to the same effect at the same time, and in the Name of his Father, and of his whole Family.

The Queen-Mother was not a little puzzled at this Affair; she knew very well that she could not gratify the Plaintiffs in their Requests without kindling anew the civil War; on the other hand, she knew that the Admiral, who refused not to stand his Tryal, had challenged all the Parliaments in the Kingdom for their notorious Partiality against him; therefore she advised the King, to bring that Case before him, and to have

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

it tried in his great Council. But the Guises, much dissatisfied, complained loudly that they were wronged in that respect, inasmuch that the Cases of the Peers could not be tried but by the Parliament of Paris, which was the supreme Court of the Kingdom: The King tired with their Importunity brought back again the Case to himself, and put off the Decision of it for three Years longer; when being at Moulins, where he had summoned a general Assembly of the Nobility and the Deputies of all the Parliaments to meet there in January 1566, and there being no Evidence against the Admiral, who cleared himself by a solemn Oath, he interposed his own Authority, and bid both Parties to be Friends again, whereupon they embraced one another in token of a Reconciliation, and promised to forget whatever was past. These things were transacted between the Widow and the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine his Brother, and the Admiral; Henry Duke of Guise Son to the deceased was present, being lately arrived from Hungary, but he was silent, and shewed by his Countenance that he waited only for a more proper time to vent out his Resentment, which opportunity he met with at last, six or seven Years after, on Bartholomew's day (*n*).

XIII.
*The fourth
National
Synod.*

The fourth National Synod of the Reformed Churches was held this year at Lyons: The first Session whereof begun on the 10th of August, PETER VIRET then Minister of Lyons being Moderator. Wherein nothing very material was transacted besides what concerned the Discipline. Censures were decreed against Ministers contracting unfitting Marriages (either as to the Age, or as to the Condition, or the Morals of the Bride) it was ordered that Marriages should

(*n*) Thuan. lib. XXXV p 245, and lib. XXXIX. p. 391.

should be celebrated in the Church; and in case one of the Parties should be disabled, either by Sicknes or otherwise, to walk to the Church, it was said, that he or she should be carried thither.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Several Regulations were made, several Cases of Conscience decided, and several Queries about that Matter answered; and whether they were not too severe, or whether they stretched not their Authority too far, that I do not take upon me to determine, neither is it of my Province, in the capacity of an Historian, to determine. For example, a Man who forsakes his Wife afflicted with the Leprosy, and marries another, this second Marriage is declared void, and the Man is excommunicated till he comes again with his first Wife, and has done publick Penance. All Promises of Marriage made between Parties of a competent Age, and with the Consent of their Parents, are declared indissoluble, tho' the Marriage has not been solemnized, nor even the Banns published: Nay, tho' both Parties should unanimously consent to their Separation.

The Ministers of Geneva consulted upon that Point, are of Opinion, That the Promise is sacred and irrevocable, even tho' the Parents should oppose, the Parties concerned are in Conscience, and by the Laws of God, obliged to go on notwithstanding these Oppositions, &c.

As to Baptism, it was ordered that it should be celebrated publickly in the Church. The Church of Geneva having been consulted about the Validity of Lay-baptism, their Answer was to the following purpose:

„ We Ministers and Divines of the Church
 „ of Geneva, with those of our Brethren coming
 C 2 „ from

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. }
 ,, from the Synod of Lyons, being met together
 ,, in the Name of the Lord, after having examined that Case of Conscience, viz. *Whether the Baptism administred by a Lay-Man is to be reïterated or no?* we do declare, that we believe unanimously that such a Baptism agreeing not with the Institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, is consequently invalid and of none effect, and that the Child must be brought to the Church of God, there to be baptized; forasmuch that to separate the Administration of the Sacraments from the Pastor's Office, it is the same as to take off a Seal from an Instrument, in order to make use of it without the Commission of the Letters Patent, and to this Case we may apply what Jesus Christ has said upon another Occasion, *Let no Man put asunder what God hath joined together.* This for and in the Name of all the Assembly.

John Calvin.

Besides that the same Assembly fully answered a Letter directed to the said Synod in defence of Lay-Baptism, setting forth the weakness of the Arguments made use of by the Author thereof, for the support of his Hypothesis, and shewing evidently that the bringing of the Child that had been baptized after that manner to the Church, could not be termed a *Rebaptization*, since he had not been baptized before; that Ceremony performed by a Lay-Man, being no more than a Mockery, the requisite Qualification for answering the Institution of Jesus Christ, being wanting, viz. the Character of the Person that administers that Sacrament, &c.

It was enacted likewise in the Synod, That the several Churches of the Kingdom should be warned to make a faithful Collection of whatever

ever had happened in their Districts, worthy of Observation, and send the relations thereof to their Reverend Brethren of Geneva with all possible diligence.

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

Furthermore it was enacted, That Mr. De Beze should be desired to set in writing in Latin and French the Causes and Protests of Nullity, against the Council of Trent, and to send them to the Ministers at Court, that they might tender them to his Majesty.

Four or five Books were censured and condemned by this Synod as full of Blasphemies, Heresies, &c. Their Titles were, *The Declaration of the Mystery of God demonstrated by two Figures.* Item, *The Mirrour of the Antichrist.* Item, *Counsel to poor France.* Item, *The Questions proposed by the Ministers of Geneva to those who desire to be admitted to the Lord's Supper (o).*

Then a List of twenty-four Ministers, Vagrants or Deposed, was published in the Synod's Name.

On the 4th of December ended the Sessions of the Council of Trent. The Cardinal of Lorraine put an end to it, in a way much unbecoming his high Station and Character; for he not only composed the Acclamations and Anthems, but he tuned them in the Cathedral, which Office belonged properly to the Deacons; wherein he shewed very little regard even for the honour of his King, inasmuch that, I don't know for what, he made a particular mention of the Emperor only, and put together all the Catholick Kings of Europe, without so much as specifying the King of France his Master. But it was not the only thing whereby he became obnoxious to the Censures of the King's Council, and of the Par-

XIV.
The Conclusion of the Council of Trent.

(o) Quick Synodicon, Vol. I. Aymon Synodes Nationaux, Tom. I.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

liament of Paris. For that Prelate, [who, at his setting out for Trent, had made the Pope upon his Throne, and the whole Consistory at Rome to tremble, lest he should perform what he bragged he would, as to the Reformation of the Church, in its Head, and in its Members] did no sooner hear of the Duke his Brother's death, but all his Zeal cooled apace, and to ingratiate himself with the Court of Rome, he suffered many things to be done in the Council, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Court of France, and the Rights of the Gallican Church; and we shall prove, in its proper place, by undeniable Authorities, that the Embryo of that dreadful Monster which appeared under Henry III. and put the Kingdom on the very brink of its utter Destruction, (I mean the League) was formed at Trent, by the Intrigues of this brave Cardinal (*p*).

XV.
A short Account of that Council.

The History of that Council written by that great Man FRA. PAOLO, having been translated into English, I shall not enlarge myself too much upon that Subject. I shall only give a sketch of it, and of the most remarkable Transactions in it, referring my Reader to the Book itself.

The means whereby Pope LEO intended to stop the Progress of the Reformation in Germany proving ineffectual, and CHARLES V. having been obliged to grant them Liberty of Conscience, till the Determination of a free general Council; CLEMENT VII. consented at last in 1531, to convene one, but upon such unreasonable Terms that he knew very well the Protestants would never agree to; for he intended to appoint it in some City of the Ecclesiastical State then in his power, as *Bolonia, Parma, or Placentia*. 2dly, That none but the Bishops, Abbots, and those who

(*p*) Mezeray, 3d. Par. Tom. V. pag. 83. Fra. Paolo, liv. VIII. p. 670.

who were privileged by Popes, should vote deliberately in that Assembly; and as to the Protestants that should desire to be heard, they should be obliged to stand by the Decisions of others, and submit themselves to them.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

All the Remonstrances which the Emperor made to the Pope upon that Subject, either by his Embassadors, or in the Conference he had with him at Bologna in 1532, and at another in June 1534 were fruitless; Clement would not swerve a jot from his Opinion. So the Protestants refusing to submit themselves to these hard Terms, there was no more Talk about the Council, till PAUL III. Clement's Successor, being promoted to the Papal Chair on the 13th of October 1534, he feigned, at first, to be much desirous of holding a Council, and readily consenting to the Emperor's Request, on the 12th of June 1536 he appointed one at *Mantua*. But the Duke refusing upon several Pretences to lend his chief City for that use, the Council was put off till November, when the Pope appointed it at *Vicenza*, for the 1st of May 1538; but Henry VIII. having protested against the Bull of Convocation, and the Emperor, together with the King of France, having refused to send their Prelates thither, the Pope was obliged to recall his Legates from that Place where they were alone, and by his Bull of the 28th of July he put off the Council again to the Easter Holidays of the next Year; but that Convocation was without effect, therefore by his Bull of the 13th of June 1539, the Pope prorogued it at his own and the Holy See's pleasure.

In the Year 541, the Emperor and the Pope agreed together to convene it at the same last place, and to appoint it for the beginning of the Year 1542. But the VENETIANS having some

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

reasons for not allowing that the Council should meet at *Vicenza*, which belonged to them, the Pope appointed it at *Trent* for the Month of November. But the Protestants of Germany were much offended at the Pope taking upon him to publish a Council in his own Name, and would not consent to it. On the other hand, the Emperor took amiss that the Pope had directed his Bull to the King of France as well as to himself, forasmuch as the said King had declared War against him, whereby he put an insuperable Obstacle to the celebration of the Council.

But the Pope little regarding these Complaints, sent his Legates to *Trent* on the 26th of August, viz. the Cardinals PETER PAUL PARIS, JOHN MORON, and REGINALD POLUS, with positive Orders to make all the haste they could, that they might arrive in time at *Trent*, there to receive and entertain the Prelates and the Embassadors that should come; however without making any publick Act, till they should have received their Instructions, which should be sent unto them in proper time.

Notwithstanding the great bustle the Emperor had made, he was not sorry in his Heart that the Pope would not recede from his Resolution; he was in hopes that this Step would serve him as a pretence for eluding the Instances which he foresaw the Protestants would make at the Diet of *Nuremberg*, for redressing their religious Grievances, referring them to the Decisions of the Council; therefore he sent his Embassadors to *Trent*, and some Bishops of his Kingdom of *Naples*. Besides the Legates, the Pope sent likewise some Italian Bishops on whom he might entirely depend, but with Orders to proceed only by little Journeys.

Never-

Nevertheless the Italians, as well as the Imperialists were arrived at Trent at the appointed time, viz. the 1st of November. The Emperor's Embassadors delivered their Credentials to the Legates, and insisted much to have the Council opened without any further delay: But the Legates excused themselves, saying that it was not fit to begin a Council with such a small number of Prelates, but the true reason was, that they waited for the Success of the Diet of Nuremberg, which having been fruitless, the Emperor's Embassadors withdrew themselves from *Trent*, the *Neapolitan* Prelates followed them, the *Italians* went away on several Pretences, and the Legates themselves were obliged at last to set out for Rome (q).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

So the Council was put off again to another time. The War being kindled between the Emperor and the King of France, there was no talk of it, till the Treaty of *Crespy*, September 24th 1544, whereby the two Crowns engaged themselves to require the Pope to summon a Council without any delay, for to cure the Church's Diseases. The Pope having got Intelligence of this Article, was not surpris'd at it, knowing how the two Princes stood affected towards him; but lest he should be looked upon as having been forced to such a thing, without waiting for the two Princes Request, he appointed again the Council at *Trent* for the 15th of March 1545. He knew very well that the time was too short for giving notice of it to all the Princes and States of Europe, and much more for the Prelates to dispose themselves for that Journey, and to arrive at Trent by that time; but he knew likewise very well, that it was vastly for his Advantage to have the Council opened with

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(q) Fra. Paolo Hist. du Concile de Trente, liv. I.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. a small Number of Prelates, and they even *Italians* and of his own Dependants, for they could settle the Form and Manner of proceeding in the Council to his own liking, whereto those who should come afterwards would be obliged to submit themselves.

Accordingly he dispatched in all haste his Legates JOHN MARY DEL MONTE Cardinal Bishop, MARCEL CERVIN Cardinal Priest, and REGINALD POLUS Cardinal Deacon; they received their Brief of Legation, but not their Instructions, the Pope reserving to himself to send them as the Cases should require. Their Powers were large enough, as well as the Faculties given to the Council, since they were authorized to constrain even the Pope himself: But to avoid the Inconveniences which could arise from such an Authority, the Pope, after the Example of MARTIN V. gave to his Legates a secret Brief whereby they were empowered to prorogue, dissolve, or transfer the Council to another Place, whenever the Fathers should undertake any thing against the *Holy See*, and by that means all the good Intentions of the Council were frustrated, if they were contrary to the Designs of the Court of Rome; and the Legates failed not to make use of that Power for transferring the Council from *Trent* to *Bolonia*, as we shall say in its proper place.

They arrived at *Trent* on the 13th of March 1545, and made their publick Entry, being received by MADRUCE Cardinal of Trent: They granted three Years, and as many Quarantains of free Pardon or Indulgences, to all those that were present at that Ceremony: No Prelate was arrived as yet, nevertheless they caused their Legantine Bull to be registered.

Dom Diego de Mendoza the Emperor's Embassador, arrived at *Trent* on the 23d of the same Month, and was received by the Legates, by the Cardinal Bishop of *Trent*, and three other Bishops, for there was no more arrived as yet in that City. On the 27th the Embassador delivered his Credentials, and opened his Commission, whereto the Legates answered.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

After that, they were very busy to find out means for dispensing themselves with the imparting to others the Dispatches which they received from Rome, and they could find no better than to advise the Pope, that for the future he would be pleased to write apart, whatever he thought proper, to be kept secret from others.

On the 8th of April arrived the Embassadors of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. That Prince had much insisted with the Protestants at the Diet of *Worms*, held on the 24th of March, to put off the Resolutions upon the points controverted, till they had seen what Turn the Affairs would take at *Trent*, and in the mean while to grant the necessary Subsidies for the War against the Turks; but they could not be prevailed on, because they were afraid, lest after having exhausted their Purse, the Emperor would fall upon them unawares. The Pope being much dissatisfied with that, endeavoured to engage the Emperor in a religious War.

In the mean while the Legates, who had received Orders of the Pope for opening the Council without waiting for a greater number of Prelates, if they understood that any point of Religion was debated in the Diet, seeing by what was transacted in the said Diet that there was no great Occasion for opening the Council, and on the other hand, that the small number of Prelates, then at *Trent*, (they were but four) afforded them

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

them a fair Opportunity of doing Service to the Pope, they sent a Messenger to him to know his pleasure, and how they ought to behave themselves in this Occurrence.

The Pope having maturely examined all the reasons for and against the opening of the Council, resolved at last for the affirmative, and accordingly sent his Orders to his Legates; which Orders however were countermanded, and the Council was opened only seven Months or thereabout after, viz. on the 13th of December 1545. The Legates with 25 Prelates in their *Pontificalibus*, attended by several Divines, the Clergy and the People, either Foreigners or Inhabitants, went in Procession from Trinity Church to the Cathedral; there the first Legate Cardinal DEL MONTE fung the Mass of the Holy Ghost, the Bishop of *Bitonte* preached a Sermon; then followed a long Exhortation upon the present Occasion; after that the Pope's Bulls and Briefs were read; Prayers were said; and at last the first Decree declaring the opening of the Council was read by the first Legate, and the second Session appointed for the 7th of January 1546, all which was registered by the Notaries of the Council, then the *Te Deum* was fung, and so ended the first Session.

This Council lasted under five Popes, viz. Paul III. Julius III. Marcel II. Paul IV. and Pius IV. eighteen Years and a few days from this first Session to the 25th, which was the last, held on the 4th of December 1563. It was transferred twice, and interrupted once. The first Translation was on the 11th of March 1547, when the Bishops in the Pope's Interest followed the Legates from Trent to Bologna, while the Imperialists and their Adherents remained at Trent. The second Translation from Bologna to
Trent

Trent again on the first of May 1551. It was interrupted the next Year by the War of Maurice Elector of Saxony against the Emperor: At last the 15th Session was held at the same place, on the 18th of January 1562, after an Interruption of about ten Years.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Now whosoever will be at the trouble of reading the History of that Council, written by FRA. PAOLO, nay, by PALLAVICINI himself, will readily subscribe to the Title given to it by VISCONTI, a secret Minister to Pius IV. in the Council, who says in one of his Letters to Cardinal BORROMEO the Pope's Nephew, *that he could find nothing of an Œcumenical Council, in that CROWD of Trent; that Matters were debated and determined in a tumultuous manner, and that, even several of the Fathers did not understand the Matters in debate.*

In order to have a right Notion of that Council, and of its Decisions, one needs only to consider, 1st, The great Reluctancy of the Popes against the convening any, wherein the Points controverted should be freely propounded, impartially considered, debated, and decided; the remembrance of the Councils of Constance and Basil, especially of this last, wherein their usurped Authority was so much depressed, was too fresh in their Mind, they dreaded lest any thing like it should be attempted against them, which would have proved of a worse Consequence for them, than any thing done at Basil; because the times were much changed. 2dly, The fraudulent and scandalous Means whereof they made use, for rendering ineffectual that Remedy, when they were forced to apply it to the Diseases of the Church: They spared nothing in order to have the majority of Votes, either by Threats or Promises, they bribed as many Foreigners as they

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

they could ; and they sent such a number of Italian Prelates, intirely at their Devotion, that no wonder if they carried their Point, seeing that instead of voting by Nations, they reckoned the Votes by Heads, whereof the Italian and other Pensioner Bishops made the greatest Number. 3dly, Their way of proceeding ; nothing was propounded in the Council but by the Legates ; no freedom in the Examination of Matters ; no freedom in delivering their Opinion ; and when they had resolved the Matters in some private Congregations, their Resolutions and Determinations were sent to Rome in order to be approved, altered or rejected by the Pope, and then sent back to Trent, to be there published as Articles of Faith.

We have the following Letter of *Monf. DE LANSSAC*, French Embassador to the Council, directed to *Monf. DE L'ISLE*, French Embassador at Rome, dated from Trent the 19th of May, wherein he complains bitterly of the illegal proceedings of the said Council.

„ S I R,
 „ **I** Must tell you one thing, viz. that if by
 „ your means we cannot obtain the two next
 „ Points, I am afraid lest we should not get
 „ much by this Council. The first is that the
 „ Pope would order his Legates not to be in such
 „ a hurry ; but to wait patiently till the Pre-
 „ lates, and namely ours, should be arrived—
 „ they will not stay, I am sure, any longer than
 „ two or three Months at the furthest ; for I
 „ hope that before that time they will find pro-
 „ per means for pacifying the Kingdom. The
 „ second is, that according to our Holy Father's
 „ reiterated Promises, he would be pleased to
 „ grant the Prelates the freedom of propound-
 „ ing,

„ ing, voting and deliberating, without prescri- Charles
 „ bing to them any Restriction or Limitation, IX.
 „ or SENDING THE HOLY GHOST IN THE 1563.
 „ MAIL OF ROME : And that whatever shall Pope Pius
 „ be proposed or determined in this Council, IV.
 „ should not be blamed, calumniated, or adul-
 „ rated at Rome, &c (r).

To this I shall subjoin another Letter of Dr. DE XAINTES to Dr. D'ESPENCE, dated from Trent the 15th of June 1563.

„ S I R,
 „ N E V E R was you better inspired than
 „ when you resolved not to come hither.
 „ For I believe that you would have been dead
 „ by this time, had you seen all the ENOR-
 „ MITIES AND BASENESS made use of for ob-
 „ structing a Reformation. The French carry
 „ themselves in this Affair with a greater Sin-
 „ cerity and Vigour than the others, who very
 „ often laugh at them when they see them in
 „ such Perplexities. When we came here at
 „ first, the Point under debate was about the Sa-
 „ crament of Orders. The Spaniards insisted
 „ much to have it decided so, that THE BISHOPS
 „ ARE INSTITUTED BY CHRIST, AND ARE
 „ SUPERIOR TO THE PRIESTS BY DIVINE
 „ RIGHT. The French joined in the same Opi-
 „ nion with them : But for avoiding the Con-
 „ sequence of such a Declaration, the Italians
 „ mixed together in that Canon ten or twelve
 „ Titles for the Pope, whereby they declared
 „ him to be the only one Bishop instituted im-
 „ mediately by Christ, and that all others had
 „ „ NO

(r) Instructions & Missives des Roix tres Chretiens & de leurs Ambassadeurs & autres pieces concernant le Concile de Trent, pris sur les originaux, pag 100.

Charles IX. 1563. Pope Pius IV. } „ no Power but what derived from his own, and
 „ from himself. There is none of us that chuses
 „ not to be in the Sorbonne, even in danger of
 „ death, rather than to be here : It is impossible
 „ for me to give you an Account of whatever
 „ I have seen and heard in this Council (s).

I shall not insist upon the Instructions given to the French Embassadors ; they had received Orders to require that the whole Communion should be restored to the Lay-Men ; that the Administration of the Sacraments should be performed in the French tongue ; that the use of Homilies (*Prône*) should be restored in all Parochial Churches, for the Instruction of the People, with the reading and explaining the Holy Scripture, and the Catechism for the young ones ; that the use of Psalms and other spiritual Songs in the French tongue, revised and approved by the Bishops, should be allowed in the Church : finally, that the Priests should be allowed to marry. Neither of these Points were granted ; nay, tho' the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria's Embassadors joined with the French in the same Petition for restoring the whole Communion to the Lay-Men, the Council was so unjust as to pronounce a Curse against all those who should say, that by the Commandment of God, or in order to be saved, every Christian, of what Order or Quality soever, ought to receive the Wine as well as the Bread in the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper.

They followed the same Method as to the other Points controverted between the Protestants, the Reformed, and the Catholicks, as *T.ansubstantiation, Image-Worship, &c.* and anathematized

(s) Idem pag. 294. Both these Letters are to be found in D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. liv. III. ch. xxi.

thematized all those who differed from them : Being however very cautious, not to offend the Scholasticks. Let us hear Palavicini himself, in his Preface to the History of the Council of Trent.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

„ The Method of the Council has been to regulate its Decisions in such a manner, and to word them with so great a choice of nice Expressions, that they could not prejudice the various Opinions of the School, whereupon the Chatholick Doctors were divided ; and indeed the Wisdom of the Council required that they should not expose the Church to any new Troubles, by the Heats that would have been raised amongst the Divines, had the Council undertook to examine and censure their Tenets.

He says further, *That it was one of the Articles whereupon the Pope had particularly insisted, having shown that he had nothing more at heart than to manage the Matters in dispute amongst the Scholasticks, in such a manner that neither of them should take offence, in order thereby to reunite all the Catholick Forces against the Sectaries.*

That Confession of Cardinal Palavicini is a Weapon which he had very unwisely provided us with against that Council. And indeed what other Inference can be drawn from what he says, besides this, viz. that the said Council, inspired by the Pope, had no thoughts at all to enter sincerely into the Examination of the Points controverted, which ought to have been the chief subject of their Convocation. To be sure they were come to Trent fully resolved to condemn, to anathematize whatever should not agree with them ; but on the other hand, to keep fair with the Scholasticks, lest they should increase the

Charles
IX.

1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

number of their Adversaries, if they did molest them.

Is it not plain, that the main scope of that Council was not to unfold the TRUTH, but to hinder the discovery of it, at any rate; not to reform the ERRORS and ABUSES, but to authorize them as much as they could; not to pacify the TROUBLES, but to crush those that were unjustly stiled Innovators, and Disturbers of the publick Peace? Let every one judge now, whether there is any ground for believing, that the Holy Ghost, that Spirit of Truth, of Holiness, Union and Concord, has presided in that Assembly?

Amongst other things six Points were debated in the Council, which put the Court of Rome in a terrible fright, lest the Pope should lose his ground.

I. The Clause PROPONENTIBUS LEGATIS, (the Legates proposing) was contradicted as long as the Council lasted; and indeed it was a foul Encroachment on the Rights and Freedom of the Fathers present in the Council, that none but the Legates should be at liberty to propose what they pleased.

II. Whether the Residence of the Bishops is a divine Institution? the question would have been carried in the Affirmative, had not the bribed Votes prevailed.

III. Whether EPISCOPACY proceeds directly from Jesus Christ? It seems that all the Bishops should have voted for the Affirmative, seeing that the very Soul and Substance of their Dignity was called in question, by such an Alternative; and indeed all the learned Prelates agreed together in the Affirmative; but the Pope's crafty Devices succeeded so well, that by virtue of a
captious

captious Decree, the Bishops were much amazed, to find themselves under the Dependance of the Pope, who by that Decree usurped the power of the Sovereigns, and for ever has deprived the private Churches of their natural Right of Election.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

IV. How far the Pope's Authority goes? That was the Rock dreaded by the Court of Rome; nevertheless she avoided it by the means of Equivocation, and with the ambiguous Expressions of the Decision: the Popes pretend that the Councils hold of them all their Authority; that to them it belongs to explain arbitrarily their Decrees; and to speak the thing as it is, the Church of Rome has no other Foundation but the Pope's Will.

V. The general Reformation of the Head as well as of the Members. The Court of Rome having so many mighty Reasons to oppose that Scheme, and being in danger of losing so much, had it succeeded, had the pleasure to see it miscarry.

VI. As to the Indulgencies, the Abuses whereof had occasioned the Reformation of Luther, nothing was decided upon that point.

Never a more ridiculous Play had been seen in the World, than that which the Pope and his Adherents represented upon the Stage of Trent; and one who undertakes the Defence of it, is much like to the Spectator of a Farce, who would believe that the Actors are such as they seem to be upon the Stage.

That the Canons of that Council have been drawn with all the Artifice and Subtilty agreeable to the Prudence of the Children of this World; that they knew how to manage slyly the contradictory Opinions of the School between the Divines; so much we will own and acknowledge. But to assert that such Decrees grounded only

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

upon Politicks, have been equally inspired for interpreting, as the Holy Scripture for settling; such an Assertion, I say, includes in itself a manifest Outrage to the Glory of Almighty God; it is such an absurd Pretension, that every Man of any Capacity, who has read the History of that Council, is obliged in Honour and Conscience to place it amongst the greatest Extravagancies, if his faculty of Reasoning is not strangely byassed and prepossessed with the Opinion of the Infallibility either of the Councils, or of the Popes.

Great Disputes arose in that Council between the French and the Spanish Ambassadors, about the Precedency, wherein Pius IV. shewed so great Partiality for Spain, that France was upon the point of following the Example of England under King Henry VIII. and Du Ferrier and Pibrac, French Ambassadors to the Council, after a very eloquent Speech, wherein they vehemently inveighed against the Pope, and disclosed the manifold Iniquities committed in the Transactions of that Assembly, in the King's Name, protested against it, and whatever should be done in it, and withdrew themselves to *Venice*; and whereas that Protest is very remarkable for its Singularity, as it gives us a just Notion of the true Character of that Council, I shall insert it in the next Note (t).

That

(t) After having recited the many Wrongs and Injustices done by Pius IV, he goes on so. *Num hæc sunt Petri, Linii, Damasi, Gregorii, aliorumq; summorum Pontificum facta & gesta? Num Pium IV pro summo Pontifice & Petri successore habere debeat Gallia? qui ut antiquam dignitatem & majestatem Pupilli regis minueret, omnia divina & humana jura pervertit? Num vobis, etsi ingratiſſimo animo, justâ tamen & necessariâ causâ, hinc discedendum sit, ubi nullum legibus locum & nullum antiquorum Conciliorum libertatis vestigium Pius IV. reliquit? Quid enim vobis judicandum proponitur, aut a vobis judicatum publicatur quod non prius Romam missum, & Pio IV. placuerit?*

Quam

That Dispute was not decided till about an hundred Years after ; and that Decision was occasioned by the Affront which the Baron of Batteville, the Spanish Embassador to the Court of England, put upon the Count d'Esstrades, French Embassador to the same Court, at the publick Entry of the Swedish Embassador into London, in the Year 1661. Amongst other Articles of Satisfaction, Lewis XIV. obliged the King of Spain to acknowledge in the most authentick manner, his Right of Precedency, which was accordingly done the next Year with all the solemnity possible.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.



D 3

That

Quam putabis aliam esse causam toties dilati & procrastinati judicii petitionum nostrarum, quam quod ille ex Epistolâ Adriani VI. Pontif. Max. optimè noverat ; CURATIS QUANTUMVIS MEMBRIS, CORPUS SANUM ESSE NON POTEST, NISI ETIAM CAPUT CURETUR? Huic autem capiti quæ quantaq; immineant, in aliud tempus dicendum reservamus. Hic est igitur Pius IV. ad quem solum hominum præsens hæc nostra denunciatio & protestatio pertinet. Sedem Apostolicam, summum Pontificem, sanctam Rom. Ecclesiam, pro cujus dignitate augenda Majores nostri sanguinem fuderunt, & adhuc hodiè in Gallia acriter pugnatur, veneramur, reveremur, suspicimus & maximis ad Cælum laudibus efferimus : Pii autem IV. Imperium detractamus, quæcumq; sint, ejus judicia & sententias rejicimus, respuimus, & contemnimus. Illum pro vicario Christi, pro capite, pro Petri legitimo successore aspernamur & rejicimus. Et quanquam, PATRES SANCTISSIMI, vestra omnis religio, vita, eruditio magnæ semper fuit & erit apud nos autoritatis, CUM TAMEN NIHIL A VOBIS, SED OMNIA MAGIS, ROMÆ QUAM TRIDENTI AGANTUR, & hæc quæ publicantur magis Pii IV. PLACITA QUAM CONCILII TRIDENTINI DECRETA jure existimantur, denuncians & testamur, quæcumq; in hoc conventu, hoc est Pii IV. motu decreta sunt & publicata, decernentur & publicabuntur, ea neq; regem Christianissimum probaturum, neq; ecclesiam Gallicanam pro decretis Oecumenicæ Synodi habituram. Interea quotquot estis Galliæ Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates, Oratores, Theologi, Vos omnes hinc abire rex Christianissimus jubet : redituros ut primùm Deus Opt. Max. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Generalibus Conciliis antiquam formam & libertatem restituerit, rex autem Christianissimus debitum dignitati & majestati suæ locum receperit. Thuan. Hist. lib. XXXV. pag. 267.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

XVI.
The King takes under his Protection the Queen of Navarr, some Archbishops and Bishops cited at Rome.

† This last was not summoned because they understood that he was coming to clear himself.

That freedom of the French Embassadors exasperated the Pope, and being solicited by the Court of Spain (*u*), he resolved to revenge himself; for that end he attempted anew to encroach upon the King's Rights, and the Liberties and Privileges of the Gallican Church, summoning the Queen of Navarr, the Cardinal of CHATILLON, JOHN OF ST. CHAMOND Archbishop of Aix, *John of St. Gelais* Bishop of Uzez, *John De Montluc* Bishop of Valence, *Claudius Régin* Bishop of Oleron, *Lewis of Albret* Bishop of Lescar, *Charles Gaillard* Bishop of Chârtres, *Anthony Caracciol* Bishop of Troy, *Francis of Noailles* † Bishop of Daqs, to appear before him, and give account of their Faith and Behaviour.

Those Prelates had been already summoned at Rome in the Month of April, and on the 20th of October the Pope pronounced Sentence of Deposition against some of them, and of Suspension against the others.

As to the Queen of Navarr, the Instrument whereby she was summoned to appear at Rome in six Months time, for to give an Account of her Religion; and answer to the Crimes laid to her Charge, was published in the latter end of September, and affixed to the Gates of St. Peter's Church, and of the Holy Office of Inquisition. The Pope desired that Sentence should be passed against her in the Council; but the Legates's Remonstrances caused him to alter his Mind. In the Summons the Pope declared, that if she refused to obey, she would forfeit all her Dominions and Estates, and be obnoxious to all other Penalties decreed against the Hereticks.

The Court of France heard no sooner of this, by Cardinal DE LA BOURDAISIERE, Embassador at

(*u*) Addit. aux Mem. de Casteln. liv. III. ch. ix. p. 777, to 810.

at Rome, but she sent orders to D'Oysel to let the Pope know, that he acted directly against the Honour of the Crown of France, and the Liberties and Privileges of the Gallican Church, in virtue whereof no Archbishop or Bishop can be tried for any Crime soever, without the Limits of the Kingdom; and as to the Queen of Navarr, he was ordered to tell him, that he had no Authority or Jurisdiction over Kings and Queens, and that it did not belong to him to deprive them of their Kingdoms and Dominions, nor to deliver them to be a Prey to the first Conqueror, &c (*w*).

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Now Castelnau says, that the Pope was not at all moved by these Remonstrances, and refused obstinately to revoke the Sentence (*x*). But Fra. Paolo says positively, that he complied (*y*). Nay, according to Thuanus, D'Oysel's Remonstrances were so efficacious with the Pope, that the Proceedings against the Bishops, and the Sentence against the Queen of Navarr, were so entirely abolished, that nothing of that Affair could be found amongst the Constitutions of Pope Pius IV. in his own time, (that is, about 30 or 40 Years after) (*z*). D'Avila says likewise, that the Pope's Prosecutions were abated by the King's Opposition (*a*). And indeed the Pope would have acted very imprudently had he insisted any more upon an Affair of that Consequence wherein all the Princes (the King of Spain excepted) were concerned, and who very likely would not have suffered such Indignities to be put upon their Character.

D 4

At

(*w*) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. III. ch. ix. pag. 783. Thuan. lib. XXXV. p. 260, &c.

(*x*) Liv. V. ch. ix.

(*y*) Liv. VIII. pag. 635. de Diodati.

(*z*) Liv. XXXV. p. 263.

(*a*) Liv. III. p. 143.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

XVII.
A general
Interview
of the Ca-
tholick
Powers
proposed.

At the same time a Rumour was industriously and maliciously spread by the Pope's Nuncio, and the Embassadors Granvelle and Chantonay, that the Queen-Regent was premeditating a League with the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope and other Catholick Princes, for the extirpation of the Protestant and Reformed Religion; that piece of Forgery was invented on purpose to kindle anew the Fire of the civil Divisions in the Kingdom, which was not as yet quite extinguished. The Queen resented it highly, as it appears by her Letter to the Bishop of *Rennes*, then Embassador of France to the Court of Vienna, dated at Paris the 23d of December 1563, whereby she owns, that she had solicited the Pope for a Conference with the Catholick Princes, not for making a League to work the Destruction of the Protestants; which Design could but render her odious to all the Potentates of Europe, nay, intolerable even to her own self: but to find out some mild ways for reconciling the Disputes about Religion, seeing that no such thing could be expected from the Council, wherein the Pope's Party was always the uppermost, being superior in number to all the rest, she ordered Mons. of *Rennes* to do his best endeavours for persuading the Emperor and the King of the Romans his Son, that she had no other Intention in the proposed Interview but of procuring, by all fair means, Peace, Union and Concord amongst the Christians (*b*).

In order to clear this Point, one must know that the Cardinal of Lorraine's Zeal being cooled, either by the Duke of Guise's Death, or because he was but fickle in his Resolutions, or because his Ambition found better its Account in serving the

(*b*) That Letter is to be found in the Additions to Castelnau's Mem. Vol. II. Book V. ch. ix. pag. 328, 329.

the Pope than his King, or for these three Reasons together, it is certain, that the Council, instead of working out the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical body, undertook to reform the Princes, whereby the Kings of France would have been the greatest Sufferers, because of the many great Privileges they do enjoy over the Gallican Church. That was attempted on purpose to oblige the Princes, and especially the French King, not to insist any longer upon the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical body, seeing that it would be to their own detriment, and to bring them to consent to, nay, to desire the breaking up of the Council; and whether that Devise had been contrived by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and by him communicated to the Court of Rome, in order to ease the Pope of the great Anxieties he was in, on the Council's account, lest he should not succeed according to his Wishes, that I cannot say with a thorough certainty; tho' the Affirmative seems to me very probable, because he was then and afterwards much carested by the Pope, who had promised him the Legateship of France, with as great a power as he could desire, as he owns himself, in one of his Letters to the Emperor; and because likewise he was so remiss in the Affairs relating to the Crown of France, that it seemed rather to approve than to disapprove the Attempts made by the Pope, and by his Council. However, having agreed with the Pope upon an Interview between the Catholick Princes and his Holiness, wherein he thought to find his own Account for the Gratification of his own Revenge against the Reformed of France, he took the Opportunity of these Attempts of the Council against the Princes, to dispose the Queen-Mother, by his Letter, to the breaking up of the said Council, giving her to under-

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1563.
Pope Pius
IV.

understand, that the King and other Princes would dispatch more Business, and obtain more Redress in a single Conference with the Pope than in many Sessions of the Council; but he was very cautious to hide the true Motives which induced him to take that Step, viz. to form a League between all the Catholick Princes against the Protestant, and to work the Destruction of the Reformed of France, whom he looked upon as the greatest Opposers of the ambitious Views of his House. He did conceal likewise from the Queen, that according to his Agreement with the Pope, that Interview was to be preceded by a solemn Embassy from the Pope, and the most considerable amongst the Catholick Powers, to intreat the King to receive and publish the Council of Trent in France; that was to be the beginning of the Tragedy which the Cardinal intended to act for revenging his Brother's death: for he doubted not but that he would be able by his own Credit to compass his Ends, and to oblige the Parliaments of the Kingdom to publish the said Council; but he found himself much mistaken in that.

The Queen taking for granted, that such a Conference with the Catholick Princes could be but very useful for compounding the Differences about Religion, and diving not into the Cardinal's secret Intentions, accepted of it, and spoke of it to Cardinal *St. Croix*, the Pope's Nuncio, and testified to him her Inclination of seeing the Council's end. The Nuncio, who had Orders from Rome to disturb, as much as he could, the Peace made with the Reformed, took the Queen at her Word, thinking that it would be a means very proper for forming a League against them, and at random he gave out his own Conjectures in order to raise Jealousies amongst the King's

Sub-

Subjects, and to plunge again the Kingdom in a Civil War. That Affair made such a Noise in Germany, as well as in France, that the King was obliged to write to Monsf. of *Rennes*, his Embassador at Vienna, for contradicting what was industriously and maliciously reported; and the same Rumour occasioned the Queen's Letter above-mentioned to the same Embassador: and seeing so many insuperable Obstacles to a general Conference with the Princes, she desired earnestly a private one with the King of the Romans for the same end; that Prince (Maximilian by Name) shewing a great desire to give some Satisfaction to his Protestant Subjects of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and having much insisted, by his Embassadors to the Council, to have the Communion *sub utraq;* and the Marriage of the Priests allowed to them, listened very readily to the Queen's Proposition, and promised to improve the first Opportunity that would offer itself for that Conference. [*And indeed it appears by that Princess's Letters, that she was in earnest at that time, for finding out some means of reconciling the Differences, or, at least, of giving some Satisfaction to the Reformed of France, by granting them some of the most essential Points controverted between them and the Catholics.*] But several things obstructed her good Intentions, and the Emperor Ferdinand, his Father, being dead, that intended Conference was put off; and then, either because the new Emperor had obtained his Ends, or because he mistrusted the Queen (*for indeed she was quite altered three or four Months after*) it was no more talk'd of (c).

Charles IX.
1563.
Pope Pius IV.

At

(c) See the Letters of the King and the Queen-Regent, and those of Monsieur de Rennes, as well as Agricola's Reflections, in his Additions to the Mem. of Castelnau, Vol. II. Book V. ch. ix. from pag. 319, to 339.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

XVIII.
*The King is
intreated
by several
Powers to
receive the
Council of
Trent.*

At the beginning of February, the Court being at Fontainebleau for the Winter Season, arrived the abovesaid Embassy from the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy; they had Orders from their Principals to intreat the King to receive the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and to cause them to be received and observed throughout the Kingdom; they were put off to the Assembly of the Catholick Princes, which were to meet together at Nancy on the 25th of March, (as the Queen thought) in order to look for some Remedy for healing the present Diseases of the Church. They required further, that the King should forbid the Alienation of the Church's Lands and Estates; and in order to take off the pretence of discharging the National Debts, the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy declared themselves ready to remit their Rights, as much as they could, in behalf of the Church; that the King was to be satisfied with a free Gift from the Clergy; that he ought to punish with Banishment or some other Penalty all Seditious and Schismaticks, and to punish severely all those who had destroyed the Churches, plundered the Priests Goods, and introduced in the Kingdom the Enemies of the State; that he ought to repeal the Act of Grace granted to them by the Edict of Peace, and especially those who should be found guilty of High Treason against God; because such Crimes being committed not against Princes, but against God, to God only it belongs to forgive them; that he would do justice impartially to all his Subjects, and punish severely and without delay the Authors and Abettors of the most execrable murder of the late Duke of Guise. The Embassadors promised to the King, in the Name of their

Prin-

Principals, all manner of Aid and Assistance for compassing these Ends.

Charles IX.

1564.

Pope Pius

IV.

To this the King, instructed by his Mother, and by the Chancellor, answered, That he was much obliged to their Masters for the wholesome Advices they imparted to him, and especially to them (*the Embassadors*) who had vouchsafed to come to him for that purpose; that he assured them, that he was firmly resolved to live according to the ancient Constitution of the Roman Church, and to oblige his Subjects to follow his Example; that he had made Peace with them for that very purpose, and to expel the Enemies out of his Dominions; that for the present he had nothing more at heart, than to do justice impartially to all his Subjects; as for the rest he desired to be excused, for the Reasons which he would set in writing, that they might be imparted to them; these things were transacted on the 12th of February (*d*).

But whereas they insisted upon a positive Answer, the King, on the 27th of March, let them know, that he wanted to advise with the Princes and the chief Men of his Council, before he could answer peremptorily.

The Queen-Mother had been at first much puzzled at this; she suspected that some Busybodies had affectedly managed that Embassy, in order to make themselves necessary, and to get Reputation abroad, and a great Power at home; therefore she endeavoured to render their Attempt vain and fruitless, and after several delays she dismissed the Embassadors with ambiguous Words.

The Presidents of the Parliament and the King's Council, having been summoned for examining the Decrees of the Council of Trent, their

Why he did not comply.

Opinion

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

Opinion was that it could not be received as to the Discipline, inasmuch that several Decrees of it were derogating to the Privileges of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church; and for these very same reasons, the said Council has never been received in France (*e*).

And whereas the Pope's Creatures insisted at that time, that it should be received, CHARLES DU MOULIN, a Man extraordinarily well learned in the Law, and a great Stickler for the ancient Liberty, published a Consultation upon that Subject, whereby he shewed forth, that for many Reasons the Council of Trent was to be deemed null, as having been assembled, held, and concluded, in a way contrary to the Decrees of the ancient Fathers, and to the Dignity and Liberty of the Kingdom of France. The Pope's Champions were much offended at this Author's boldness, and prevailed so far in the Parliament of Paris, that Du Moulin was ignominiously sent to Goal, as an Heretick, and an Abettor of Sedition: But few Months after he was released, by the King's Orders, while he was at Lyons; however, upon these terms, that for the future he should publish nothing without the King's Licence; and the Parliament was forbidden to take any further Cognizance of that Affair. That Gentleman was fallen under the Parliament's Disfavour, because, being an Upright Man, he had asserted of late the Rights of the Nobility and Commoners of consenting to the Election of a Bishop, against ANTHONY DE CREQUI Bishop of *Nantz*, a great Enemy to the Reformed, who had been translated to the See of *Amiens* without such a previous Consent; tho' Du Moulin's

(*e*) The King of Portugal, and the Republick of Venice, were the first that received the Council, and after them the King of Spain.

lin's Opinion was grounded upon the Decrees of the ancient Fathers, and of the Councils, upon the Constitutions of CLOTARIUS, CHARLEMAIGN and LEWIS the Good, and upon the Regulations lately made in the Assembly of the States-General held at *Orleans* (f).

Charles IX. 1564. Pope Pius IV.

The King published an Edict in February, whereby he ordered to begin the Year by the first of January, whereas he begun before by Easter-day; and tho' that Edict was not registered by the Parliament, nevertheless it was observed.

XIX. *The King's Edict for beginning the Year by the first of January.*

On the 31st of March, his Majesty being attended by the Queen-Mother, began to visit his Kingdom. Amongst the Reasons which obliged Queen Catharine to undertake that Journey, the frequent Complaints the Reformed made of the Violation of the Edict, especially in the Southern Provinces, was one of the chiefest; she was afraid lest their Patience being tired, they would rise again in Arms; besides that she knew very well, that they begun to mistrust her, they suspected that she had a mind to break the Edict; and their Suspicion was not, at this present time, without Foundation, notwithstanding all her Demonstrations to the contrary.

XX. *He begins the Visit of his Kingdom.*

And indeed the Behaviour of the Duke of Damville, Governor of Languedoc, being approved by the Court, could but afford them a just Subject of Jealousies.

XXI. *Injustices of Damville in Languedoc.*

That Lord, (in order to blot out the Impressions which his own, and his Father, and Brother's proceeding in behalf of the Admiral had made upon the Minds of the Catholicks, as if they countenanced the Reformed Party;) behaved himself in his Government not only with great Injustice, but even with the greatest Barbarity,

(f) Thuan. lib. XXXVI. pag. 293.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

rity, without any regard to the Edict lately made. For, with the Consent and Approbation of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, he entered in an hostile manner into the Cities that had formerly been possessed by the Reformed, putting Garisons at the Gates, and fixing the flying Colours and Standards upon the Walls, as if they had been taken by Storm; then he commanded the Inhabitants to bring all their Arms to the Town-houses, their Swords not excepted; and lest any Arms should be left, he sent some of his Men to search the Reformed Houses. At *Nimes* a Gentleman having delayed a little to bring his Sword, was publickly and severely whipt through the Streets by his Orders. It was a Custom amongst the Reformed, while they were Masters of that City, that the Magistrates before they undertook any thing in the Town-house, put up their Prayers to God for imploring his Assistance; Damville ordered that this Custom should be abolished, and when CALVER, the first Consul of the City, opposed such Order, saying, *Who then shall teach us justice, or under whose Auspice shall we render it, if not in the Name of God?* he answered only, That if they and their Followers were so solicitous about that Use of praying to God, the King was unwilling to impose such a burden upon those who cared not for it. Tho' he, with his Attendants, lived with an intolerable Licentiousness in the City, his Guards, composed of Troops from *Albania* and *Sclavonia*, went continually plundering the Country, just as they would have done during the War. Mean while he interpreted the Edict according to his fancy. Tho' liberty had been granted to the Reformed to meet together for Religious Worship, in all the Cities and Places where they were used to resort, before the 7th of March 1563, Damville restrained that liberty

liberty to those Places, the Lords whereof would grant such a Licence. Whereas by the same Edict, every one was to enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience every where; he weakened so much that Concession, that he obliged all the Priests, and religious Persons, who had renounced their Priesthood, or their Fraternity, and consequently the Roman Religion, to forsake their Wives or Husbands if they had any; and to return to their respective Monasteries; and if they disobeyed, they were banished out of the Kingdom: and that Order was given not only for those who had renounced the Roman Religion during the late Troubles, but even for those, who, from the beginning of the Reformation, had turned Protestants; he condemned one MOUTON, Minister of Uzez, to be hanged, for having spoke too freely in his Sermons. For which Cause Mr. DE CLAUSON, a Counsellor of Nimes, was deputed to Court to complain of these Violences; but by the Constable's Credit he was sent to Jail.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

The City of *Pamiers* in the County of *Foix* was one of the most severely handled by *Damville*. The Inhabitants whereof dreading the Licentiousness and Cruelties of that Governor's Troops, had writ to him, shewing forth that they had no need of a Garison; that they were ready to obey all other Orders he would give them, and to observe strictly the Edict. But *Damville* insisted that he should be admitted into the City without any Condition soever; and said, that those were not as pacifick as they pretended to be, who undertook to impose Conditions on a Governour sent to them by their King; and he notified to the Consuls, that unless they would obey without delay, and admit him into the City, they should answer for their Fellow-Citizens Ob-

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

stinacy. The Consuls, frightened at these Threatnings, were willing to admit that Governour; but the Citizens opposed, dreading the Consequences of admitting a proud and cruel Governour, irritated by their Resistance, and attended by a band of Soldiers, plunged in all manner of Dissoluteness: the Debate between the Consuls and the Inhabitants came to such a degree of Heat and Passion, that these last expelled their Magistrate out of the City; absolutely denied admittance to Damville, and put themselves, the best as they could, in a posture of Defence. Damville sent to Court to complain of this Usage, and the Queen dreading the Consequences of such an Example, dispatched RAMBOUILLET to Pamiers, for bringing the Inhabitants to a Compliance with their Governour. He prevailed with them, upon promise that he would obtain their free Pardon from the King; and persuaded them to receive Damville in the City, without any Condition. But they paid very dear for their Resistance, and for their Compliance too; they were gone too far, and had complied too soon: Damville was no sooner entered into the City, but he made them sensible what sort of Man he was; tho' he was received with the utmost Respect, he treated them as the fiercest Enemy would have done; he deprived them of their Privileges; pulled down their Walls; inflicted several Penalties upon the most substantial Citizens; caused some of them to be put to death, and their Minister TASCHARD to be hang'd; gave the City to be plundered by the Soldiers; forced the Women and Virgins; and having expelled eight hundred of the Inhabitants out of the City, and put a Garison into it, he went to Thoulouse, there to receive the Congratulations of a bloody Parliament on such a Feat, so much to their liking.

liking (g). No wonder then if the Reformed were full of Fears and Jealousies; if they doubted of the Queen's Sincerity, seeing that far from obtaining any redress of their Grievances, their Deputies were clapt in Jail, or silenced by such like Methods.

Charles
IX.
1564
Pope Pius
IV.

The King went thro' Champaign into Lorraine, outwardly under pretence of standing God-father to the new-born Son of the Duke of Lorraine, but really to treat with the German Princes, some of whom became Pensioners of France, and obliged themselves to find a certain number of Troops in case of need; but others refused generously, among whom were the Duke of WIRTEMBERG, the ELECTOR PALATINE, and the Duke of DEUX-PONTS. From Lorraine the King proceeded to Burgundy, where the States of the Province assembled at Dijon, insisted much to his Majesty, that the last Edict in behalf of the Reformed should not take place in Burgundy; but they were refused. And now the Queen was much staggering at the Instances of the Houses of Lorraine and Guise, and of several others, who endeavoured to engage her to repeal that Edict, and to enter into a League with the Catholick Princes for the utter Extirpation of the Hereticks. But if she durst not as yet to act in an open Defiance to the King's Royal Word and Promises, we shall see presently what a terrible Breach she made on the Edict, and how at last she entered the next Year into that so much desired League with the King of Spain.

The King proceeding in his Journey arrived at Lyons about the 15th of June, and made great Alterations in that City, wherein the Reformed were the strongest, in order to secure it

E 2

to

(g) Thuan. lib. XXXV. p. 242, 244.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

to his own Interest, he took the Government of it from the hands of the Count of SAULT, who was a very meek Man, and who countenanced the Reformed, and gave it to DE LOSSES; Captain of his Guards, only for a time; for it was destined for the Duke of NEMOURS. Then he caused two Citadels to be built in it; and tho' the Plague raged in the City, the King departed not from it till the Works were in a great forwardness.

The Queen could not dissemble so well, but the Reformed dived into her most secret Thoughts, as it appears by these Lines in profaick Rhimes directed under the Name of John Philoglutius, Doctor of Sorbonne, to Mr. Pandolphus Verunculus, Batchelor; dated the 9th of July 1564; and whereof, for humour's sake, I shall insert here the following Abstract.

I.

In nostra urbe Regina
Se ostendit multum bona,
Et videtur ad placitum
Velle mutare Edictum:
Sed Rex semper dicit altè,
Quod vult conservare strictè,
Et promittit non fracturum,
Puto quod non erit verum.

2.

Nam ego multa video
Quæ vix dicere audeo,
Sed præstat ea tacere,
Et parumper expectare
Reginæ novum decretum
Adversus Regis Edictum.
Hoc nobis est pollicita
Credo quod faciet ita:

Hoc

Hoc nobis fatis est notum
Per recens suum adventum.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

3.

Huguenoti Lugdunenses
Non amplius portant Enses,
Neque ivere per viam
Regi futuri obviam :
Sed Genuenses,
Florentini & Lucenses,
Antè eum exiverunt
Et eum comitaverunt.
Hoc benè fecit prudenter
Catherina Regis Mater,
Nam in quibus fiduciam
Poneret quàm in Patriam.

4.

Indè pro consuetudine,
Tuba est clamatum manè,
Ut Huguenoti cessarent
Nec amplius predicarent ;
Unde sunt valdè territi.
Nam putabant Huguenoti
Quod Rex eos non turbaret,
Sed Contrarium apparet,
Et non sunt ubi putabant
Neque de hoc diffidebant.

5.

Verum ipsi nihil audent,
Et Papistæ eos rident :
Quoniam Regina Mater
Ita gubernat potenter :
Quod benè eis indicat
Nam in urbe ædificat,

Charles
IX
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

Duas bonas Turres fortes
Ad † retrahendum milites,
Quos ad urbis præsidium
Fecit venire Lugdunum.
Sed benè fecit ampliùs,
Quod est illis molestiùs,
Quia vult Nemorum Ducem
Urbis habere Regimen.

6.

Præterea hic dicitur
Quod plurimi exspectantur,
Alphonfus Dux Ferrariæ
Et Cosmus Dux Florentiæ,
Cum Principe Philiberto.
Ipsi huc venient citò,
Et tunc Regina mutabit
Edictum & non timebit,
Illud frangere apertè ;
Nam habet de sua parte
Omnes Reges Catholicos
Adversus istos iniquos.

7.

Per Deum si hoc Edictum
Non est celeriter fractum,
Sed fervetur in Gallia,
Actum est de Ecclesia,
Et oportet quod Facultas
Rescribat litteras multas
Ad Papam, & hunc moneat
Sedulò manum teneat,
Ut Regina hoc Edictum,
Omninò reddat irritum :
Nam si diù habet cursum,
* Marmita cadet deorsum.

8. Aliud

† For receiving Soldiers.

* Seething-pot.

Charles

IX.

1564.

Pope Pius

IV.

8.

Aliud est quod timemus
 In hac urbe multum triste,
 Nam hic moriuntur peste.
 Regina eam non timet
 Quia Pestis est ipsamet,
 Neque hinc est abitura,
 Quin omnia relictura
 Sit, sicut ipsa decrevit.
 Dudum totus Clerus novit
 Quantum ipsa vult curare
 Ecclesiam sustinere :
 Jam jam nobis est cognitum
 Et Huguenotis molestum, &c.

During the stay of the Court at *Lyons*, Miss *LIMEUIL*, the Prince's Mistress, above mentioned, was delivered of a Son. The Queen had not been sorry to see that young Lady, of the best Nobility of the Kingdom, suffering the Prince's Addresses ; it may be, that she did not think that that Inclination would go any further than Courtship : but whether the Lady could not resist the Prince's Quality, or for the Value she had for him, or that she expected to marry him after Princess Eleonor's death, as it is said she had been promised by the Prince ; howbeit, being overcome by Ambition and Love, she surrendered herself to his Royal Highness. The Queen was so much the more offended at that Scandal, that it happened so publickly, that it was impossible to conceal it ; she was shut up in a Nunnery by the Queen's Orders, but released, and married advantageously some Years after. The following Lines were made by the same Author as the last, and sent in the same News.

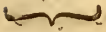
Charles

IX.

1564.

Pope Pius

IV.



I.

Puella illa Nobilis
 Quæ erat tam amabilis,
 Commisit adulterium
 Et nuper fecit filium.
 Sed dicunt Matrem Reginam
 Illi fuisse Lenam,
 Et quod hoc patiebatur
 Ut Principem lucraretur.
 At multi dicunt quod Pater
 Non est Princeps, sed est alter,
 Qui Regi est a secretis,
 Omnibus est notus fatis.

2.

Contra hanc tamen Regina
 Se ostendit tantum plena
 † Cholera. ac si nescisset
 Hoc quod Puella fecisset,
 Et dedit illi custodes
 Superbos nimis & rudes,
 Mittens in Monasterium
 Quærere refrigerium.
 Sed certè pro tam levi re,
 Sic non deberet tractare,
 At excusare modicum,
 Tèmpus, Personam & Locum,
 Aliis non fit taliter
 Quæ faciunt similiter.

3.

Pridiè venit Nuncium
 Puellum esse mortuum,

Et

† Anger.

Et fuit magna jactura
 De tam pulchrâ Creaturâ
 Quæ nunc est cum Cœlitibus
 Rogans Deum pro Patribus
 Et ut Patri fit melius (b)

Charles
 IX.
 1654.
 Pope Pius
 IV.



From *Lyons* the Court came, in the Month XXII. of July, to *Rouffillon*, a place in *Dauphiné*, belonging to the Counts of *TOURNON*, where the King stayed for some time. There he received many great Complaints from the Reformed about the general infraction of the late Edict almost in every Province, and about the ill usage they received from the Governours: and indeed they had great reason to complain; we have already seen how the Parliament and the States of *Burgundy* stood affected towards them. Furthermore, the Fraternity of the Holy Ghost settled in that Province, obliged those who were admitted into it, to promise with a solemn Oath, not to cease till they had intirely destroyed the *Hereticks*. Nothing was to be heard in the Pulpits but the praises of King Philip, and consequently of the Spaniards, whose Piety was extolled to the skies; every where, and in every thing Philip's Name was intermixed, to the great dishonour of the King of France, and of the French Nation; as if the King of Spain had been the sole Arbitrator of Religion, and as if to him it had belonged, to interpret the King's Edicts. At *Crevant* in the *Autunese*, the Reformed were assaulted as they went to Church, and if it had not been for some Gentlemen of the Country that came to their assistance, they would have been very severely handled; the Queen, by her Letters to *D'Andelot* dated from *Lyons*, had made some
 Excuse

(b) Addit, aux Mem. de Castel. Tom. II. lib. V. ch. x.
 p. 240, 241, 242.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

Excuse for the Fact. Besides that, heavy Complaints were sent to Court on the 8th of August, against Claude D'ANGENNES, Bishop of Mans, who having usurped the Government of that Province, made use of it, to oppress in a thousand ways more odious one than the other, not only those who professed openly the Reformed Religion, but likewise those whom he suspected to countenance them. The Marshal of VIELLEVILLE having been commissioned by the King to take cognizance of these Matters, he received a Petition tendered to him in the Name of the whole Province, wherein the many Villainies of that Bishop and his Followers, were set in their full Light. At *Tours* the Reformed were likewise assaulted as they were assembled in the place appointed for them by the Edict, for their Religious Meeting, some of whom were killed, and their Minister murdered in the Pulpit. The Parliament of Paris deputed several Members of its body to inquire into the Fact; but very little justice could be obtained. About the same time happened the Murder of Gilbert DE LA CURE'E, a Gentleman no less conspicuous by his Virtue than by his Nobility; he was Lieutenant of the Duchy of Vendosme for the Queen of Navarr; may be, he was too partial to the Reformed, and too severe against the Catholicks: however, he was murdered in treason at a hunting-match, with the Knowledge of the Bishop of Mans; some say, with his Consent. The Widow petitioned the Court for Justice; but after many delays, many injustices and hardships undergone by her Friends, she was forced to desist. By these repeated breaches of the Edict, and the denials of Justice, the Queen fomented the Discontents of the Reformed, and afforded them a just pretence of rising up in Arms; but this was but the beginning

ning of their Miseries, and we shall see presently a great deal more; whereby their Patience was at last tired (*i*).

In order to weaken more and more the Reformed Party, the King published an Edict, whereby it was ordered to demolish the Citadels and Fortifications, raised in the Cities on account of the last War; to the end that every one might live peaceably according to his Profession, without fear, and without any other safe-guard but that of the Laws. Accordingly CIPIERRE was sent to *Orleans* to see that the Fortresses of that City should be demolished, but some Engineers went at the same time along with him, by the Court's Order, for taking a View of the Place, and for taking the squaring of a Fortrefs which they intended to build at the Gate that leads to Paris. Furthermore, the Court considering of what great Importance that City was, and for other private Considerations, which had no place under the following Reigns, gave the Duchy of *Anjou* instead of that of *Orleans*, for an Apanage to the King's eldest Brother.

The new Fortifications of *Montauban*, *Valence* and *Cisteron*, were likewise demolished. The Reformed were also forbidden to keep School; and their Ministers were obliged to take Lodgings near their Churches (*k*); they were not allowed to assemble for divine Worship, nearer than ten Leagues from the place where the Court made any stay; the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion, who had right to

have

(*i*) Thuan. lib. XXXVI. pag. 294.

(*k*) These Articles were very hard, and done on purpose to hinder the Pastors to visit their Flock, to instruct and comfort them in their Sickness; and so the Nerves of the Doctrine and Discipline being cut asunder, as the Emperor Julian had done in the former times, nothing could be expected but to see all sense of Religion extinguished amongst the Christians.

Charles
IV.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

XXII.
The Edict
of Roussillon.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

have a Chapel in their Castle, were forbidden to admit any into it but their own Families and Vassals or Tenants, under the penalty of forfeiting their Right : No Synod could be held without calling some of the King's Officers to be present at their Consultations and Deliberations ; no Money to be raised amongst themselves upon any account soever, without the King's special Licence ; all Marriages contracted by or between Persons in Holy Orders, or engaged in monastical Life, not only during or since the late Troubles, but even long before, were made void ; and such Persons, Men or Women, obliged to go back into their Cloysters in two Months time, or to depart the Kingdom ; and in case of Disobedience, Men were condemned to the Gallies, and Women to a perpetual Confinement.

It is clear that this Edict, under pretence of interpreting the former of *Amboise*, was a downright violation of it, as any one might be convinced, if he does but compare them together. And indeed the Article which forbade the Reformed to assemble for divine Service, nearer than ten Leagues from the Court, was very troublesome to them, and exposed them to very great Inconveniences, and to many Dangers. Those against their Synods, and assessing themselves for the Maintenance of the Ministry, deprived them of the most proper means of repressing the Dissoluteness of Manners, and of providing for their own Security. What a Tyranny was it, to oblige married People to part from their Wives, or from their Husbands, and to take again upon them a Yoke which they had found intolerable by their own Experience, and which they could not bear any longer without wounding their Conscience ?

The Prince of Condé having got notice of this, while he was at his Castle of St. Valery, wrote to the Queen, complaining of the manifold Infractions of the Edict, caused either by Interpretations contrary to the obvious Sense of the Words, or by other Edicts quite opposed to that, and by the Decrees of the Courts of Justice; he complained likewise of the wilful Murders which were pass'd by unpunished; and shewed forth, that since the Peace no less than 132 Innocents had been put to death by the Malice and Hatred of their Enemies: to this he added the many Injustices and Vexations of the Governours against the Reformed.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

The King answered to this Letter, and assured him that he had nothing more at heart than to do Justice to every one impartially; and as to the Interpretations of the Edict, he says, that it had been done for so good Reasons, that he himself would approve of them, was he acquainted with them: besides that, he could not believe that the Prince should presume that his own Will ought to be a Rule for his; but if the Governours or others of his Officers had offended against the Edict, he would bring them to Justice, that they might receive a condign Punishment, &c.

From Roussillon the Court went to *Valence*, then to *Montelimar*, where the King was received with great Pomp and Solemnity; from thence he entered into Provence, and going through *Orange* he came to *Avignon*, where he was received with great Magnificence by Cardinal d'ARMAGNAC, Governour of that City for the Pope.

Henry, Prince of Navarr, was then at Court, where the Queen his Mother had sent him for his Safety, after she had been providentially delivered from the threatenng Danger she had been in by the Treachery of her own Catholick Subjects,

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

jects, and whereof I shall give here a short Account, tho' the Plot was discovered some Months before.

XXIV.
Plot against the
Queen of
Navarr
discovered.

No bolder Attempt had ever been seen in the Kingdom before this, nor more happily prevented. The King of Navarr being dead, the Enemies of his House, who imagined no other ways of settling and strengthening the ancient Religion, but what were conducive to their own private Interest, and thought that there was no better than to destroy, under that specious pretence of Religion, the Heads of the Kingdom that supported the Reformed Religion, or to reduce them under the power of some Catholick Prince; and by the same means thinking to ingratiate themselves with the King of Spain (with whom they kept a strict Correspondence) by some signal Service, plotted to seize the Queen of Navarr (she resided then at *Pau* in Bearn) with Prince HENRY her Son, and Princess CATHERINA her Daughter, and to carry them to the Prisons of the INQUISITION in *Spain*: they thought that they had a fair Opportunity for executing their Plot, because the King of Spain was then assembling his Troops at *Barcelona* for the War of *Africa*. They made no doubt, but that Philip would the more readily listen to their Scheme, that by that means, not only the Interest of the Religion, whereof he boasted to be a zealous Defender, would be secured; but he would likewise secure to himself the Possession of the Kingdom of Navarr, which he so unjustly detained: for the lawful Heirs being once taken out of the way, there would be no more Dispute about it for the future. They settled the order of execution in such a manner that the Success seemed to them infallible; for they intended to send part of the Troops that were at *Barcelona* to *Tarascon*,
and

and from thence, by the narrow Passages of the Mountains, to *Pau*; and indeed by that means they could have introduced the Troops into *Bearn* without the least Suspicion, and have surpris'd the Mother and the Children unawares.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

They imparted their Scheme to the King of Spain, and the Duke of ALVA, by a certain Captain, DOMINIC by Name, a Bearnese, a Man who had been let into the Secret, and was very well acquainted with the People, and the Roads and By-ways of the Country. The Murder of the Duke of GUISE, which was perpetrated about this time, relented not their Hatred against the Queen of Navarr, only it obliged them to delay the Execution of their Plot: Dominic stayed in Guienn till further Orders; which having received, he went directly to the Duke of ALVA, who, with the King's Licence, was retired at that time to *Alva*; he had frequent Conferences with him about that Affair, and after having weighed the importance of it, he dispatched him to PHILIP, being attended by Francis de ALAVA. Philip was then at *Monçon*, where he waited for the general States of *Catalonia*, *Arragon* and *Valencia*, that were to be held in that place.

But as Dominic was upon his Journey, he fell dangerously sick at *Madrid*, and was obliged to stay there, sending, however, Alava before him, in order to prepare every thing with Philip. During his Sickness, ANNAS VESPIERS, (a Gentleman born at *Nerac*, and belonging to ELIZABETH Queen of Spain) was introduced by his Landlord to him. and by his continual Attendance, and good Offices, he got into his most inward Familiarity, so far that Dominic discovered to him the Plot, and the Names of the Accomplices. Vespiers, struck with horror, considered

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

sidered in himself how he could prevent that fatal Blow; he thought proper to impart that Affair to ST. ESTEVE, great Almoner to Queen Elizabeth, that he might give notice of it to her Majesty. The Queen when she heard of this, struck with the atrocity of the Crime, could not forbear Tears; being united with Queen Joanna, not only by the Ties of Blood, but also by those of a sincere Love: and thinking that the Honour and Welfare of the Kingdom of France was concerned in the Danger that Princess was in, she wrote without any delay to ST. SULPICE, the French Embassador, who was then at *Monçon* with the King her Husband. Her Letter was in Cypher, and ST. ESTEVE, by the Queen's Command, wrote likewise to him to the same purpose, and let him know the House where Dominic was to lodge at *Monçon*, described his Face, his Mien, and Clothes, as he had been told by Vespier. The Express that was sent with those Letters, made such great diligence, that he arrived at *Monçon* before Dominic. Saint Sulpice having received his Letters, sent some trusty Friends to the Inn, and being certain by the Description given of him, that he was arrived, he took care to get Intelligence of his doings by proper Persons which he had set in his way, and found that in one Night only after Midnight, he had been introduced three times by Alava to Philip; whereby he judged that there was no time to be lost for preventing Dominic. Therefore he dispatched ROULEAU his Secretary to the Court of France, to acquaint the King and the Queen of what was hatching at the Court of Spain against the Queen of Navarr; he charged him likewise to warn this last as he went through Guienn, to provide for her own and her Children's Security: Which he

carefully executed ; for when he arrived at *Bayonne*, he sent a trusty Man to the Queen of Navarr with Letters, whereby she was informed of what-ever was plotting against her.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

Rouleau being arrived at Court, and the Queen understanding the subject of his Message, she would scarce believe him ; so sturdy that Attempt appeared to her : however being plainly certified of the Truth of it, she gave proper Orders to stop Dominic as he came from Spain, that she might hear from himself the whole Plot, and take the proper measures in such cases. But Dominic having got Intelligence of these Resolutions, by some of Philip's Pensioners, at the Court of France, took another Road than that whereby it was thought that he should pass, and so escaped the just Reward due to his execrable Treason. It was rumoured that MONTLUC the Marshal, and the Viscount of ORTEZ were in the Plot ; Montluc denied that he had any hand in it, but not that he was acquainted with it ; and whereas the Evidences are not clear enough against him, we must wait till the Doom-day, when God Almighty shall reveal the secret of every Man's heart. As to the Queen-Mother, it was said, that she was very glad of the Discovery of that Plot, but that she would have been sorry, had Dominic been taken, lest the Credit and Authority of the Authors and Abettors of that Plot, wherof she intended to make use, should have been sunk too low. This Discovery was made while the Court was still at Fontainebleau : The Queen of Navarr, as we have said, sent the Prince of Navarr her Son to Court, for the greater Safety ; she had gave him Governours and Tutors to watch over him, and not suffer him to be ensnared by the Allurements of the Court (*l*).

VOL. III.

F

From

(*l*) Thuan. XXXVI. pag. 290. and p. 296.

Charles
IX.
1564.
Pope Pius
IV.

From *Avignon* the Court came to *Marseilles*, where the many Complaints of the Reformed obliged the King, for preventing some Insurrection, to publish an Edict to enforce the strict Observation of the Articles of *Rouffillon*. From *Marseilles* the King came back to *Avignon*, which place was very delightful to him, and having forded the *Rhône* he entered *Languedoc*, and came to *Nimes*. There was a great Concourse of Reformed in that City, who, for the most part came from *Provence*, where they had so many Wrongs and Hardships to undergo. The Reformed renewed here their Complaints, especially against the Marshal *DAMVILLE*, which, however, were smothered by the Constable's Interest. The Court came to *Beziers* by the latter end of this Year, and the King's reception put the Inhabitants to a vast Expence, which was very prejudicial to them.

While the Court sojourned at *Avignon*, the Affairs of *Guienne* were in a very bad Condition, and very near to break out in a civil Commotion; for *FREDERICK DE FOIX*, Count of *CANDALE*, listening to the violent Counsels of *GASTON de FOIX*, Marquis of *TRANE*, a turbulent Man, which having imparted to *CHRISTOPHORUS*, Bishop of *Aire*, *MONTLUC*, *DE CAUMONT*, *DE LAUSUN*, *DESCARS* and *MERVILLE*, they had made a League amongst themselves at *Cardillac*, in the last Month of August, against the Reformed, under a false pretence that they exceeded the Liberty granted to them by the Edict of *Amboise*, and that they had committed some Murders. But the Court having got notice of that League, by *JAMES LARGEBASTON*, first President of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, sent into *Guienne* Marshal de *BOURDILLON*, for suppressing these Commotions; but showing him-
self

self too partial in behalf of the Catholicks, the Reformed complained of him to the King no less than of the Count of Candale. However, having repressed by his Presence the Efforts of the Confederates, the State of that Province was more quiet for a time.

Charles IX.
1564.
Pope Pius IV.

At the beginning of the Year 1565, the Court came from *Beziers* to *Narbonne*, and from thence to *Carcassonne*, which is divided into two parts by the River *Aude*, the upper Town and the lower; the first was under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, and the second under the Kings: That Year the Winter was very severe, and the King being arrived in the upper Town, waited there till the Preparations for his publick Entry into the lower Town should be ready; but the Night preceding the Day appointed for that Ceremony, which was the 13th of January, there fell such a vast quantity of Snow, and the Wind blew so hard, that all the Preparations were either carried away, or otherwise spoiled, so that the King was obliged to stay ten Days longer in the upper Town, being besieged, as it were, with the Snow, and could not make his publick Entry till St. Vincent's Day. Old People in that City say, that they had been told by their Grand-fathers, that something like it had happened about 123 Years before this, and that MARY of ANJOU, Consort to Charles VII. had been forced to stay for three Months in their City, because of the Snow that fell that Winter six feet high: Strange thing indeed! *Carcassonne* lying in the 42d Degree of Latitude.

1565.

While the Court was at *Carcassonne*, came the News of a Tumult happened at Paris, on Cardinal of Lorraine's account. That Prelate coming from *Rome* after the Council of Trent, and before he went to see his Mother at *Joinville*, had written to the Queen-Mother, setting forth

XXV.

Cardinal of Lorraine affronted at Paris.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

the danger he was in from the great Number of his Enemies, who might play him a foul Trick, and desiring that the King would grant him the Licence of being attended with a Troop of Guards at his own Charge; which Licence had been granted to him, signed by one of the Secretaries of State. (That Step of the Cardinal was then necessary, and such a Licence requisite, because of the King's Edict in 1563, whereby it was forbidden under severe Penalties to go with Arms along the Streets, the Nobility and others to whom it should belong being allowed to bear a Sword only, and the Governours of the Provinces or of the Cities were strictly charged to watch narrowly upon the due Observation of that Edict.) Now the Cardinal being arrived at *Joinville*, had a mind to see his Friends at *Paris*, but out of an unseasonable Wantonness, he was willing to make a show of his power; for that end he sent to the Duke of *AUMALE* his Brother, then at *Anet*, desiring him to meet him at *Nanteuil*, where he was coming, with as many armed Men as he could, which was complied to; and the Cardinal, being so well attended, came to *St. Denis* with Henry Duke of Guise his Nephew. But the Marshal of Montmorency, Governour of *Paris* and of the *Isle of France*, having notice of the Cardinal's design, sent him word not to proceed any further with such Attendance, and not to insist upon his entering the City with armed Men contrary to the King's Edict, during his Majesty's absence, and at a time when there was a disposition in the People's mind towards an Insurrection; this the Marshal did with the Advice and Consent of the Parliament of *Paris*.

Why?

But the proud Cardinal, little acquainted with any Compliance to the Laws, was affronted at
this

this Message, and desisted not from his Attempt, not vouchsafing so much as to give notice to the Marshal of the Licence the King had granted him. The Marshal understanding this, thought that it was his Duty to hinder him by force from coming into the City ; but he was prevented by the Cardinal, who having rejected with Scorn all the prudent Advices given to him, was entered by the Gate of St. Denis ; and was met in the Street by the Marshal, and the Prince of Porcian attended with a great number of Nobility on Horse-back. They stopt the Van of the Cardinal, and obliged them to surrender their Arms, one of them refusing to obey was killed upon the spot, whereat the Cardinal, a downright Coward, thinking that they fought his own Life, alighted quickly with his Nephew, and ran for safety into a Mercer's Shop hard by ; his Men fled as fast as they could, some to one place, and some to another, and the Marshal forbade to pursue them, being very well satisfied with having chastised the Haughtiness of the Cardinal with the terrible fright he was in. He had been in great hopes that the Mob would have risen for him, but he had the mortification of seeing no body stirring to his Assistance. The Marshal, and he, sent to Court ; the first for justifying what he had done, the other for making his Complaints ; but by the Constable's Interest, the King condemned not the Marshal, and said only, that he would examine the Matter, and whereas he understood that both Parties were assembling their Friends and Adherents, he sent them Orders to disarm, to dismiss their Friends, and not to bear Arms in Paris ; he was obeyed. The Prince of Condé's Opinion was, that the Marshal had gone too far if he had a mind only to frighten

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

the Cardinal; but that he had not done enough, if he was in earnest.

From *Carcassonne* the Court came to *Thoulouse*, whither the King had appointed the States of that Province, and the Deputies of the neighbouring. Many Complaints were brought thither from the Reformed against *MONTLUC*; but that Gentleman being come to Court in order to clear himself, no body durst appear against him. It was at *Thoulouse* that, by the Queen's Orders, the Names of the King's Brothers were changed; he who had been called *ALEXANDER* took the Name of *HENRY*, and the youngest, who was named *HERCULES*, received the Name of *FRANCIS*.

From *Thoulouse* the Court came to *Bourdeaux*, where the King was received with a greater Pomp and Magnificence than any where else, on the 9th of April. Three hundred Men at Arms went to meet him out of the City, with Troops of Men representing several foreign Nations, as Grecians, Turks, Arabians, Egyptians, Sumatrans, Indians, Canarians, Moors, Ethiopians, Cannibals, Americans and Brasilians, that were led like Captives. The Chief of each Troop made a Compliment to the King in the Language of the Nation which the said Troop represented, which was turned into French by an Interpreter.

The Reformed Inhabitants of the City, had obtained since the last Year, while the King was at Valence, some Articles of their Demands, but the Parliament had refused to register and publish the Letters-Patent which the King had granted to them upon that subject, notwithstanding all the Instances of the King's Attorney, and of the Mayor, and the Sheriffs. Now the King being in the City, the Parliament, willing to show their Obsequiousness to his Majesty, took a

middle

middle way, and caused these Letters-Patent to be published by the Governour of *Guienne*. These Concessions were to the following purport: That the Reformed should be at liberty to sing Psalms, even out of their Churches, without being molested for that Cause, either by the Governours of Provinces, or by the Mayors and Sheriffs of the Cities; that they should not be constrained to pay any thing towards the making of what they called the *Holy Bread*; nor to set Hangings before their Houses or Windows on *CORPUS CHRISTI* Day; and that in those places where the Reformed should refuse to put such Hangings, the Captains or other Officers of the Ward should do it at their own Charge; that the Reformed should not be compelled to pay any thing to the Parish towards the Relief of the Catholick Beggars and Poor; nor for the Maintenance of the Fraternities; that being summoned in Judgment, they should not be obliged to swear upon St. Anthony's Arm; (a Relique much revered at Bourdeaux) that the Reformed should be admitted to the publick Offices, as well as the Catholicks; and few other Articles of less moment than these. Castelnau differs a little from Thuanus in these Articles; he don't speak of St. Anthony's Arm, nor of the Admittance of the Reformed to publick Offices. 2dly, He don't say that these Articles were granted at the Instances of the Reformed of Bourdeaux; but that the Queen-Mother, seeing that the heats of the two Parties (which he ascribes in a banter to the scorching heat of the last Summer) increased every day, she sent orders to the Governours of Provinces, &c. about the Articles above-mentioned. But one must consider that Castelnau writes only some Memoirs wherein he insists only upon the most material Events, whereas Thuanus writes a com-

Charles
IX.
1564-
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

pleat History of his own times, wherein he omits nothing worthy to be mentioned, when he has been acquainted with the Matter, so both might be very well reconciled; those Articles above-mentioned were granted to the Reformed in general, as Castelnau says, but at the Instances of the Bourdelese, as Thuanus says, and as to the number of the Articles, as those in Castelnau are agreeable to those in Thuanus, no matter, methinks, if there is two or three more in this last than in the former (*m*).

The Complaints against the Count of *Candale* and his Adherents were renewed at Bourdeaux; but whereas the King saw that too many Lords and Great Men of the Kingdom were Accomplices with him, he thought proper to forget every thing, and to forbid all sovereign Courts to take any further notice of it.


Then the King set out from *Bourdeaux* in order to go to *Bayonne*, there to meet his Sister Elizabeth Queen of Spain, sent thither attended with the Duke of Alva, for conferring with the Queen-Mother about the means of compassing the Destruction of the Reformed in France and in the Low Countries, As the King was at *Mont de Marsan* he received Advice of a League between some of the greatest Men in the Kingdom against THE COLIGNIES and MONTMORENCIES, which was confirmed by some intercepted Letters, from the Duke of AUMAIE to his Brother the Marquis of ELBEUF, written on the 24th of February, wherein mention was made of the Duke of MONTPENSIER, the Viscount of MARTIGUES, the Duke of ESTAMPES, CHAVIGNY, and the Bishop of MANS, as being concerned in the Confederation. The Queen dreading the Consequences

(*m*) Casteln. liv. V. ch. x. Thuan. lib. XXXVII. p. 320.

quences of it, lest the King's Name and Authority should be subverted by such Factions, advised the King in his Council on the 18th of May, to draw a form of Oath, whereby every one should solemnly promise to reveal whatever he knew or shall know of any secret Confederacy, raising of Money, Treaties with foreign Princes, and warlike Preparations; that being required of it by the King, they should obey with all Humility, beseeching his Majesty not to believe them guilty of any such thing, which they look'd upon with the utmost Abhorrence, and wherein they never had any hand, being ready to spend their Goods and shed their Blood for maintaining the Royal Authority, and the Observation of his Edicts and Commands. Besides that, that they engage themselves never to rise in Arms but at the King's Command. Such an Instrument having been drawn, the Lords then present at Court subscribed to it, amongst whom there was some named in AUMALE'S Letters, who were come to Court of late: It was added further, that the King willed and commanded that the said Instrument should be transmitted to those Princes and great Lords of the Kingdom, then absent from Court, to be subscribed by them; and that those who shall refuse to subscribe shall be deemed Accomplices of the Factions, Scorners of his own Authority, Disturbers of the publick Peace, and Traitors to their King; ordering that whoever shall know any thing of the Premises shall repair immediately to him in order to reveal it, promising to receive and keep them under his Royal Protection.

MONTLUC says in his Commentaries, that the Queen having bid him to speak his own Opinion upon that Affair, he said, that the King ought to reject and condemn that Association, and to form a new one, whereof he should be the Chief,
and

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.



Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

and that he should oblige all the Princes, Lords, and Great Men of the Kingdom, to enter into it, and to tie themselves with a solemn Oath. Since Montluc says himself, that this was his own Opinion, we must believe him. But that the King, *as he said*, followed it as the best and the most wholesome, that is not true, at least there is no Sign of it left in the Records of those days; and such a Step would have been directly contrary to those Acts mentioned above, and related in the Journal of the King's Council, whereby all such secret Confederacy of the Subjects amongst themselves were condemned and forbidden, as pernicious to the King, and contrary to the publick Tranquility. As to what Montluc says, that the King caused an Instrument of that Association to be drawn, which was put in his Trunks, and that he believed it was not lost: That Evidence is very weak in order to prove a Fact so extraordinary, and of so great a Consequence, and being done so publicly, it ought to have been recorded in the Council's Registers, where being not to be found, we must infer, that if Montluc or any other ever made such a strange Proposition in the King's Council, it was rejected (*n*).

The Court having received notice that the Queen of Spain was coming, the King set out for *Bayonne*, from whence he sent his Brother Henry to meet their Sister on the borders of *Biscay*. On the 9th of June the Queen arrived at *St. Sebastian*; where Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, repaired immediately after, with a great Attendance, carrying the Collar of the Golden Fleece to the King in the Name of the King of Spain his Master; hiding under that

(*n*) Thuan. lib. XXXVII. p. 320, 321. Comment. de Montluc, liv. VI. fol. 431, 432.

that specious pretence the true motive of his Embassy, which was to engage the King of France and the Queen his Mother in a League against the Reformed.

Charles IX.
1565.
Pope Pius IV.

At this time the Queen shewed a greater Inclination for it than she had done before; and was very glad to know what Philip intended to do with the Reformed of the *Low Countries*, who began then to form a great Party there.

Before that time the said King had seen with pleasure the civil Commotions in France, which he had endeavoured to foment as much as he could. But now that he saw himself exposed almost to the same Diseases, he altered something his Behaviour, lest the Reformed of France being in peace at home, should keep Correspondence with those of the *Low Countries*, called by the nick-name of *BEGGARS*. Nay, lest in order to keep peace at home, the Reformed should be allowed to relieve their Brethren of the *Low Countries*. That was the true Reason which induced the King of Spain to consent to that Interview between the Queen his Consort, and the Queen his Mother-in-Law, which he had cunningly delayed till this time, in order to increase the Jealousies amongst the Reformed of France, and to countenance the Suspicions they were in, of a League between the two Crowns formed against them, whereby they would be obliged to think of their own Safety, and be deterred from granting any Relief to others. The Queen-Mother would have been very glad, had the King of Spain come himself, as for a long time he had given her hopes, only to amuse her, and to engage her upon that account to be severe with the Reformed; and if it had not been for that, he would not even have consented to the Journey of the Queen his Consort, which he granted

XXVI.
The King's Interview with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

granted only as a favour to the Importunities of ST. SULPICE, the French Embassador at his Court, according to what the said Gentleman wrote to the Bishop of *Rennes*.

So all that great bustle about that intended Interview of all the Catholick Princes came to this only between the two Crowns of France and Spain, which even cost very dear to the first, not only by the extravagant Expences made on that account, but more by the Troubles and Miseries which were the Consequences of it (o).

The Queen-Mother had taken her Lodgings in the Bishop's Palace, adjoining to which she had caused a House of Bricks to be built in haste, adorned with the finest Hangings, for the Queen her Daughter's reception; she came in frequently in the Night by a Back-Door known only by those which were in the Secret, and there she conferred with the Duke of Alva, who was intrusted with his Master's Intentions. There the League between the two Crowns was made, for the Restoration of the old Religion, and the Destruction of the Reformed; and they promised their mutual Assistance one to the other for the execution of that Design. Thuanus, in the relation of this, could have spared to the Reformed the Title he gives them, calling them *a kind of mistrustful People*, and speaking of them as if they had been the Authors of the Rumours spread abroad about the said League, seeing that he himself, four or five Lines afterwards, acknowledges, that the Event shewed that they were in the right: but the Protestant Historians are not the only ones that have said the same (p). Thuanus himself quotes John Bapt. HADRIANUS, as an Historian of great Fidelity and Capacity, according to

GUIC-

(o) Addit. aux Mem. de Casteln. liv. VI. ch. 1.

(p) *Genus hominum Suspicaux*, lib. XXXVII. p. 322.

GUICCIARDINE, and to whom very likely COSMO, Duke of *Tuscany*, had imparted his Memoirs. But that Historian says, that it had been proposed in that Conference (held at the Pope's Instances, who earnestly desired that the King of Spain should be present at it :) to deliver the Kingdom of France from that plague of the Reformed, and that at last, Alva's Opinion had been agreed to, viz. to strike down the Heads of the Chiefs, and to put to the Sword all the Reformed, without exception, after the way of the SICILIAN VESPERS; and whereas they began to talk at Court of an Assembly to be held at Moulins, it was thought that no better opportunity could be found for executing that barbarous Plot, than that, when the greatest Princes and Lords of the Kingdom would be assembled at that Place to have them murdered all at once; and that Signal once given, to have the rest murdered likewise throughout the Kingdom.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

But, either because all the Nobles which had been pitched upon to be the Victim of that Fury, did not come to *Moulins*, or for some other reason, that Execution was put off to another time; and was effected seven Years after at Paris, just as it was now projected at *Bayonne* (q).

La Noüe says, that he had been told by the Duke of Alva himself, *that it was needless to be so busy in catching the little Frogs, but that they ought to endeavour to catch the great Salmons and such other large Fishes.* The Duke required further, in Philip's Name, that the King should repeal the free Exercise of their Religion, granted by his Edict to the Reformed inhabiting in the frontier Towns, lest that *Plague* should spread and communicate itself to the Subjects of the King of Spain; but whereas the Court of France thought

(q) Thuan. Hist. lib. XXXVII. p. 322.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

thought not proper at this time to gratify Philip in that respect, the Court of Spain took that pretence afterwards for obliging the Pope to take away from the Diocese of *Bayonne* the Provinces of *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay*; the same thing had been done not long before, as to the Bishopricks of *Cambray* and *Tournay*, which were formerly of the Diocese of *Rheims*.

Such were the Transactions of that famous Conference at *Bayonne*, which might be looked upon as the Original of all the Calamities that beset the Kingdom under this and the following Reign. For the Queen henceforward had very little or no regard at all for the Reformed Party, she did stick at nothing for compassing her Ends, as we shall see; and on the other hand, the Prince of Condé and Admiral de Coligny, having got Intelligence from their Friends at Court of whatever was transacted in that Conference, consulted together with their Friends about the means of averting the threatenng Danger, and of providing for their own Security, so the King of Spain obtained his Ends, viz. to keep the Kingdom of France in a perpetual Division amongst the Subjects.

Then the King proceeding in his Journey arrived at *Nerac*, where he restored the Catholick Religion, the exercise whereof had been forbidden by the Queen of *Navarr*; from thence, going through the *Agense*, *Perigord*, *Angoumois*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, he took his Winter Quarters at *Blois*; and appointed an Assembly of the Notables at *Moulins* for the beginning of the next Year.

XXVII. This Year there was a great Law-Suit tried before the Parliament of *Paris*, between the University of that City, and the JESUITS. They had tendered a Petition to that Court for obtaining the Licence of instructing the Youth, being

*A Law Suit
between
the Univer-
sity of Paris
and the Je-
suits.*

being opposed in that by the Rector of the said University. But before I proceed, I think proper to give a short and impartial Account of the Origin, Institutes, Progress and Settlement of that famous Society in France, abstracted not only out of PAQUIER (*Lettres, & Recherches de la France*) but likewise out of Thuanus, which last seems to me more impartial.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

PETER ANTHONY CARAFFA, who was afterwards Cardinal, then Pope under the Name of PAUL IV. had instituted a Fraternity of Priests, who, renouncing the Society of Men, lived in a perpetual Contemplation, and were named THEATINES, from the place where they inhabited in *Apulia*. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a Biscayan, tired with the military Life, whereby he had got nothing else but a fore Leg, gave up himself to a kind of Life more retired (*r*); after having travelled in *Italy*, and in the *Holy Land*, he came back into his own Country in the Year 1524, and being thirty-three Years of Age, he began to learn the Latin Grammar at *Barcelona*; there he had for Companions in his way of living, one CALLISTUS, who had been along with him at *Jerusalem*, ARTIAGUES and CAZERE, both Spaniards, and a young Frenchman named JOHN. Being sensible of the little Improvement he had made in his Studies at *Barcelona*, *Alcala*, and *Salamanca*, (tho' he had earnestly desired his Regent at *Barcelona*, to whip him soundly, as any other School-boy, if he did not learn his Task) he came to Paris four Years after, and resolved

(*r*) He consecrated himself to the blessed Virgin's Service, and followed in that Ceremony, all the Rules and Prescriptions of the ancient Knight Errantry. Whosoever has a mind to know what he did on that Occasion might read it in Stillingfleet's *Fanaticism of the Roman Church*; and Jurieu, *Apol. pour la Reform.* 1st part, ch. i. he copies after Stillingfleet.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

solved to begin again with the Grammar ; then he learned Philosophy under JOHN PENA, one of the greatest Mathematicians and Philosophers of his Age, then he learned Divinity in the Dominicans College ; he got by this time some new Companions, viz. PETER FAVRE, a *Savoyard*, JAMES LAINEZ, born at *Siguencia* in *Spain*, ALFONSUS SALMERO of *Toledo*, NICHOLAS BOBADILLA of *Palentia*, SIMON RODRIGUEZ, a *Portugueze*, CLAUDIUS LE JAY and JOHN CODUR of the Diocese of *Geneva*, PASQUIER BROET of *Ambrun* (*s*), and FRANCIS XAVIER, one of his own Countrymen (*t*). They obliged themselves by a solemn Vow, after having received the Sacrament, that when they should have finished their Studies in Divinity, they would entirely renounce the World, and serve in a perpetual Poverty to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Men's Souls ; and especially that they would go to *Jerusalem* at a certain time, there to convert the Infidels, and to endeavour by all means to get the Crown of Martyrdom ; that if it was impossible for them to put this their Design in execution, then a Year after they would go to *Rome*, and offer their Services to the Pope, without any Condition, or restriction of times and places. This was transacted in the Church of *Montmartre*, a Suburb of *Paris*, on the 16th of August 1534 (*u*).

The

(*s*) Pasquier says, that he was born at *Dreux* ; but I follow Thuan. See Pasquier Recherches de la France, liv. III. ch. 43. p. 319.

(*t*) This Man, at the request of John King of Portugal, was sent by the Pope into the East for converting the Infidels : he travelled through the maritime Countries of India, went into Japon, and having undergone many Dangers, he died in China, as he was entering that Country in the Year 1556.

(*u*) Bayle puts this on the 15th of August. See Art. Ioola.

The next Year LOYOLA went into Spain, then he came by Sea to *Genoa*, and from thence he arrived at *Venice*, where he was met by his Associates on the 8th of January 1537, in order to fulfil their Vow. While LOYOLA waited for them at *Venice*, he became acquainted with PETER ANTHONY CARAFFA, afterwards Pope PAUL IV. who was very serviceable to him and his Society. Now before they embarked for their intended Voyage to the Holy Land, they went to Rome to ask the Pope's blessing, and his Licence, which having obtained they came back to *Venice*; but finding no Opportunity for embarking, and the War being kindled with the Turks, they desisted from that Pilgrimage. Whereupon they dispersed themselves into the Territories of the Venetians. As to LOYOLA, he went back to Rome with FAÛRE and LAINEZ. His Biographers relate, that being enter'd a Church hard by that City, to make his Prayers, he fell into a rapture, and saw God the Father recommending to Jesus his Son, (who carried a Cross and suffered the bitterest Pains) the said Loyola and his Companions, and that he doubted not but he would be favourable to them at Rome: From that Vision it is, that he gave to his Society the Name of Jesus.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

They were received by QUIRINO GARZONI, a Citizen of Rome, in his Country-house. Here it was that Loyola drew the Scheme of a new Society; which was approved of, with some Limitations, by Paul III. on the 3d of November 1540, and without any Limitation by another Bull published in 1543; at first their number was fixed at 60, but by this last Bull their number was not fixed. Loyola was created General of the Society in the Year 1541. He stayed at Rome while his Companions went up

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

and down almost throughout the World; he was taken up with several kinds of Business, either for the Conversion of the Jews, or that of the lewd Women, or for the Orphans.

ISABELLA ROSELLA, a Gentlewoman who had taken much care of him while he was in the College at *Barcelona*, was so fond of him, that she came from Spain to Rome with some other Women, to pay him a Visit, and to form a Society after the model of his own, and under the same Rules and Prescriptions. But Loyola refused to take care of Women, and obtained at last of the Pope, that his Society should be for ever exempted from that trouble. He obtained some other Privileges from Pope PAUL III. which were confirmed by JULIUS III. Then Paul IV. having been raised to the Papacy, increased much the Society; and it was under his Pontificate that Loyola died on the last day of July 1556, aged about 65 Years, being born in 1491. Three small Stones were found in the Vein of his Liver. Such was the Life and Death of Ignatius de Loyola, the Founder of a Society, which afterwards increased to that degree, that it began soon to be dreadful to the Kings themselves.

Near about the same time WILLIAM DU PRAT, Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, and Son to the Chancellor of that Name, being excessively fond of that Society, allowed them the College of Clermont at Paris; and by his last Will, bequeathed to them 36000 Crowns, on condition that a School being erected at *Billon*, and *Mauriac* in *Auvergne*, they should instruct the Youths. Therefore Pasquier BROET above-named had obtained of King Henry, at the recommendation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and six Years before Loyola's death, that the Society should be received

in the Kingdom, according to the Pope's Bull, and that the Fellows might build a House, and have a College at Paris, and not in any other Towns, out of the Alms which they should receive. Which Letters-Patent of the King being read in the Parliament four Years afterwards on the 3d of August, it was resolved to send the said Letters-Patent, together with the Pope's Bull, to the Bishop of Paris, and to the Faculty of Divinity, in order to be read and examined by them, and to have their Opinion upon the whole Matter.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

Accordingly the Sorbonne delivered her Opinion in writing on the first of December in the same Year 1554, whereby she declared, that that new Society which went by the Name of the Society of Jesus, unheard of before, seemed to be a very dangerous one in regard to Religion, as disturbing the Peace of the Church, subverting the Monastical Discipline, and tending more to Destruction than to Edification: for they admitted without any distinction into their Body all sorts of Persons how infamous, villainous and wicked soever; besides that, they had been endowed by the Popes with so many Privileges, Liberties and Immunities, especially as to the Administration of the Sacraments, and to the prejudice of the Rights of the Bishops and Clergy; nay, to the detriment of Princes themselves, and to the great grievance of the People, &c. Therefore they concluded that they could not, nor they ought not to be admitted.

The Jesuits, being stunned at this Decree, thought proper to comply with the times, in hopes that the Hatred conceived against their Society might relent with length of time, and they stirred not till Francis II's accession to the Throne; then it was that the Guises being all-

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

potent, and countenancing that Society to their utmost, undertook the defence of their Cause; and first of all they asked the Opinion of the Bishop of Paris, who delivered it in writing, which was to the very same purport as that of the Sorbonne, only he insisted a little more upon the Title of SOCIETY OF JESUS, whereby they ascribed to themselves only, what does belong to the whole Christian Church; and in so doing it seemed that they declared that they only composed the Church: from the Premises he inferred, that whereas they had been bound by the Pope for instructing Mahometans and other Infidels, and preaching the Gospel amongst them, some places of Abode ought to be appointed for them in the Frontiers of those Countries, as formerly the Knights of Rhodes had been settled upon the Borders of Christendom, for watching over the Motions of the Infidels.

These Opinions having been read and examined in the King's Council, at the Cardinal of Lorraine's Instance, a Decree was sent to the Parliament, on the 25th of April 1560, whereby they were enjoined, that, without any regard to the Opinion of the University or the Bishop of Paris, they should publish the Pope's Bull, and the King's Letters-Patent granted in the Jesuits behalf.

But tho' the Society offered, by their Petition to the Parliament, to submit themselves to the Common Law, and to renounce all Immunities and Privileges to them granted by the Popes, that were contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the Bishops, Priests, Colleges, University, and of the Gallican Church, and to the Covenants made between the Kings and the Popes: Nevertheless the Parliament, on the 22d of February 1561, referred the whole Matter to the Decision

cision of a General Council, or to the Assembly of the Gallican Church.

Charles IX.

1565.

Pope Pius

IV.

At last the Bishops being assembled at Poissy, by the King's Command, as we have said in our first Volume, the Cardinal of Tournon, Archbishop of Lyons, being President, and that Assembly being impowered by the Parliament for deciding finally the Question, the new Society was admitted and approved of under the Name both of Society and College, upon condition that they shall take another Name than that of *Society of Jesus*, or Jesuits; and that they shall be subject as well as other Priests to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese wherein they shall live; that they shall do nothing to the prejudice of the Bishops, Priests, Colleges and Universities; that they shall govern themselves according to the Common Law, and renounce all Privileges to the contrary. Adding, that if they do not obey, or if for the future they did obtain new Privileges, they shall lose *ipso facto* the Benefit of this Decree as if it had never been granted.

Accordingly the Society opened their College of Clermont at Paris. But whereas the University of Paris entered an Action against that Liberty, the Affair was brought again before the Parliament, and the Society tendered a Petition to that Court, to the end that it should interpose its Authority, that for the future they should be no more disturbed in their Calling. Before that Cause was debated in the Parliament, CHARLES DU MOULIN had been consulted by the University; and had answered, that their Cause was very just, which he evinced by many strong and unquestionable Arguments.

The Cause was learnedly argued in full Parliament, PETER VERSORIS was Advocate for the

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

Jesuits, and STEPHEN PASQUIER for the University. This last shewed forth, that that ambitious SECT, full of Hypocrisy, was born in Spain, grown at Paris, raised at Venice, received at Rome, and had been endowed with great Privileges contrary to the Common Law; then condemned by the Sentence of the Sorbonne, and rejected by the Bishop of Paris; that now under the specious pretence of teaching the Youths for nothing, it spreadeth itself like a Pest, and then by their Flatteries winning the Affections of People, they engaged them to make a last Will in their behalf, and ruined the Families by that means; then they corrupted the Youths under pretence of Religion, and having bewitched the minds of Children by their Superstitions, they disposed them to Seditions, which would break out in time to the Destruction of the Kingdom. Then, in speaking of their Vows, he took notice of that whereby they do promise a blind Obedience in every thing to their General, always chosen by the King of Spain, and whom they worship as a God upon Earth: then he compared Loyola with Luther, and said, that both conspired to attain the same end, tho' by different ways, viz. to undermine the lawful Authority of the Magistrates, to weaken the Church's Discipline, and to confound all human and divine Rights (*v*). Then he inveighed against the proud Name they took to themselves; which having been taken by some other Hereticks about 200 Years before, they had been expelled out of the Church, and been destroyed by the just Judgment of God; that they very likely intended to cause a Schism between those who professed

(*v*) That is very true as to the Jesuits, but is utterly false as to the Lutherans; and very likely Pasquier had never read the Books of Luther, and spoke at random of his Opinions.

fessed the same Religion, that some of them would be Jesuits, while others would be Christians; that rendering themselves so far obsequious to the Popes, they ought to be the more suspicious to the French Nation, which indeed considered the Pope as Head and Prince of the Church, but in the mean while as inferior to the Councils, and therefore as bound to obey their Decrees; having no Power nor Authority of pronouncing any thing against Kings or Kingdoms, or the Decrees of the Parliament; nor of decreeing any thing to the prejudice of the Bishops in their Diocese; then he subjoined, that if these new Sectaries were once admitted, it would be felt by experience that they had fed so many Enemies in the very bowels of the Kingdom, who would take up Arms against the King and his Subjects, whenever a passionate and hot-headed Pope shall declare War against both. Then directing his Speech to the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, You, says he, who do now tolerate the Jesuits, the time will come when you will repent, but too late, of your Credulity; when you will see that by your Connivance the publick Tranquility, not only of this Kingdom, but of all Christendom, will be endangered by the Frauds, Craft, Superstition, Hypocrisy, De-lusions, and wicked Tricks of these Men.

When Pasquier had done, VERSORIS replied, and then BAPTIST DU MESNIL, the King's Attorney, a Man of great Sagacity and Probity, having at first blamed the too great Bitterness of the two Advocates; after having set forth the Danger there was in admitting new Societies, not only as to Religion, but even as to the civil Government, he spoke against the Jesuits, who being obliged by a Vow, could not be admitted into the Body of the University, for teaching the

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

Youths, and desired the Parliament to see to what use the Legacy of the Bishop of Clermont could be converted, which might answer his Intention and Meaning.

That Cause was argued for two days together, and the Parliament, either because they were not sensible of the Consequences, or rather out of Hatred against the Reformed, and because they took the Jesuits to be the fittest Men for subduing them, decreed to take more time for considering the Matter, and in the mean while granted to them the Liberty of opening their College to teach publicly the Youths: This was done on the 5th of April 1565 (*w*).

Seven Years afterwards Pope Gregory XIII. granted them another Bull, whereby they were allowed to chuse for themselves some JUDGES CONSERVATORS, as they call them, for all sort of Causes either Civil, or Criminal, or Mixt, even for those wherein they shall be Plaintiffs; forbidding to all other Judges, even to the Cardinals themselves, to take any cognizance of them. Which Bull derogated from the general Councils and apostolical Constitutions, and from the Uses and Indults granted to the Kings and other Princes. In the Year 1578 on the 24th of March the Society having petitioned to be admitted into the University, the Rector and some other Members being commissioned to examine the Matter, declared, that the Jesuits Constitutions and Rules, could not be tolerated without subverting the ancient Discipline, and abrogating the Statutes of the University; therefore they were cast off (*x*).

The

(*w*) I have transcribed almost all that I have said till now upon this Subject out of Thuan. lib. XXXVII. p. 315

—320.

(*x*) Le Mercure Jesuite, pag. 310.

The same Year on the 7th of May they obtained another Bull from the Pope, granting them the faculty of conferring Degrees, and of reading publickly in concurrence with the Fellows of the University, and NOTWITHSTANDING all Decrees, Laws, and Constitutions to the contrary.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

In the Year 1594, Henry IV. having been acknowledged by the City of Paris, the University pursued again their Cause against the Jesuits, which had lain dormant for almost 30 Years: ANTHONY ARNAUD was their Advocate, who discharged his Duty as well as could be expected from a Man of his Parts. The Society, if we may give credit to Pasquier, had been the first Firebrands of that cruel League which had put the Kingdom to the very brink of its utter ruin. They had suborned one BARRIERE to murder King Henry IV. when they saw that, having embraced the Roman Religion, he had removed the greatest Obstacles to the peaceable Possession of the Throne of his Ancestors. They had confessed the said Barriere in their College, and administered unto him the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and having promised unto him the Crown of Glory, if it happened that he should die in the Attempt, they sent him to execute that bloody and detestable Murder; three times he had been like to execute his Design, and had been providentially hindered, and at last he was taken at the Gate of Melun on the 27th of August 1593, and the last day of the same Month, being convicted, he was brought to condign Punishment (y). He had charged, amongst many others,

(y) He was executed in the great Market-place of Melun, he had his Hand burnt to Ashes, holding in it the Knife found upon him when taken; then he was pinched with red-hot Pinchers along the Streets, in all the musculous parts of his Body, and then broken alive upon the Wheel.

Charles
IV.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

others, the Curate of St. Andrew at Paris, his Vicar, but above all the Jesuit VARADE. All these new Productions of Jesuitism, occasioned the Pursuits of the University. And as the Parliament were about to judge the Cause, there happened a new Attempt against the King's sacred Person, which forwarded the final Decision of it. John Chastel, a Youth of 19 Years old, born at Paris, and brought up by the Jesuits, attempted to murder the King in his Palace of Louvre, and amidst his Nobility, but missed his end, and wounded him only in the Lip; he was taken, and brought almost to the like Punishment as Barriere. But the Parliament decreed and inhibited to all Persons, of what Quality and Condition soever, upon pain of High Treason, to say or utter the following Propositions; That it is lawful to murder Kings; that Henry IV. then reigning, was not a Member of the Church till he should be approved by the Pope, (*which Propositions had been asserted by Chastel in his Trial, and owned to have been taught to him by the Jesuits;*) which Propositions the Court declared to be scandalous, seditious, contrary to the Word of God, and condemned as Heretical by the Holy Decrees. Commanded all Priests and Scholars of the College of Clermont, and all others of the same Society, as Corrupters of the Youth, Disturbers of the publick Peace, Enemies to the King and the State, to depart the City of Paris, and all other Cities, or places wherein they had Colleges, three days after the Intimation of the Sentence, and to depart the Kingdom a fortnight after; which time being expired, they were to be punished as guilty of High Treason, wherever they should be found in the Kingdom.

Their Goods, Moveable or Immoveable, were to be laid out in charitable Uses, and distributed

as the Court should think proper. Furthermore, all the King's Subjects were forbidden to send any Scholar to the Colleges of the said Society without the Kingdom, upon the said Pain of High Treason. Done on the 29th of December 1594.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

During the Trial the Court sent some Lords to search the College of Clermont, and having seized upon several Papers, they found amongst them some Books whereof Father JOHN GUIGNARD was Author, containing several Arguments whereby he endeavoured to prove, that it had been lawful to murder the late King Henry III. and several Inductions for committing the like horrid Crime upon his Successor Henry IV. (z).

But that Sentence was reversed some time after, and they came again into the Kingdom more powerful and dreadful than before, as we shall see hereafter; and Henry IV. paid very dear for his Compliance.

After their second Admittance into the Kingdom, it is not to be conceived what Incroachments they made every where upon the Universities, and upon the Clergy; and what is the more surprizing is, that the Success attended always their Attempt according to their Wishes, and they bore down all Oppositions before them, as it is to be seen in the Book quoted in the Note *z*, which is nothing else but a Collection of many authentick Deeds and Instruments for and against them.

Such were the Origin, Beginnings, Progress and Settlement of that famous Society, which being intirely devoted to the Popes, must be of course the more dreadful to the Kingdoms and States, which by the Constitutions of their Government, or by Principle of Religion, don't

acknow-

(z) Pasquier Rech. de la France, liv. III. ch. xlii.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

acknowledge them as the supreme Lords of the Church, as having an arbitrary Power over it.

I do really believe that many things have been charged upon the Jesuits, whereof they are not guilty, and very often the Actions of a private Member are ascribed to the whole Body, which is very wrong. There are just subjects of Complaint against them, more than enough for passing Sentence upon them; their Ambition, their greediness after Power and Authority, their manifold Attempts at several times, and in several places, to gratify that predominant Passion, render them justly obnoxious to the Abhorrence of any sober and truly virtuous Man.

And indeed such a great Power as theirs cannot be acquired in so short a time, and preserved so long, without the help of the most refined Politicks. And is not that Society the Encyclopædia of the bad Morality as to spiritual Sins? Besides that, they are those who stretched so far, and with the greatest Ardour, the Consequences of several Doctrines taught before their time, and which do expose the Sovereign to continual Revolutions, the Protestants and Reformed to the Slaughter, and Christian Piety to the most deplorable Decay. But it is time to come to the main Subject of this History.

XXIX. While the Court was still at the *Mount of Marsan* in Guienne, the Queen received the News of an Attempt made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, which was an evident Testimony of his Affection to the King and the Kingdom. The Cardinal had some time before let the Emperor know, that as Bishop of *Metz* he was his Vassal, and Prince of the Holy Empire; and therefore he put the Jurisdiction and Territory of *Metz* under his Imperial Protection, desiring to be defended against the Violences, IncurSIONS and Vexations

tions of his Enemies. Whereupon the Emperor had granted to him his Letters of Patronage, dated on the 5th of May of this Year; which Letters he attempted out of season to have published in the *Messine Country*. But SALCEDE, Bailif of *Vic*, and Governour of *Marsal*, tho' one of the Cardinal's Creatures, opposed him with all his Might, until he had received Orders from the King for such a Publication; and seized upon some places belonging to the Cardinal, saying that he had reason so to do, since the said Cardinal had put himself under the Protection of the Emperor, without any regard to the King his Sovereign; nevertheless, Salcede being too weak to cope with the Cardinal, who had raised a small Army for executing his Design, was at last obliged to surrender *Vic* and *Marsal* (a).

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope Pius
IV.

On the 13th of December died Pope Pius IV. after a Reign of five Years 11 Months and 13 Days, having been elected on the 26th of December 1559. He was succeeded by MICHAEL GISLERI, known by the Name of Cardinal Alexandrine, who was elected on the seventh of January following, and took the Name of PIUS V.

On the 25th of December this Year was held at *Paris* the fifth National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France; NICHOLAS DE GALARS, Minister of the Church of *Orleans*, was chosen Moderator; and LEWIS CAPEL, Minister of *Meaux*, with LEWIS LE CLERC, Elder of the Church of *Paris*, Secretaries.

XXX.
*The fifth
National
Synod of the
Reformed
Churches.*

A Book and other Writings of one J. Morelly concerning the Polity and Discipline of the Church was censured and condemned, as containing evil and dangerous Opinions, subverting that Discipline which is agreeable to the Word of God, and at that day received in the Reformed

(a) Thuan. Hist. lib. XXXVII. pag. 323.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope
Interregn.

formed Churches of the Kingdom ; and indeed delivering up the Government of the Church unto the People, he would bring in a new tumultuary Government, full of Confusion, upon it, from whence would follow many great and dangerous Inconveniences, which were demonstrated unto him ; and he was further admonished to renounce such Opinions, which he refused to do, but persisted in his Assertions, saying, that he was persuaded, that those his Opinions were grounded upon God's Holy Word. Nevertheless, whereas, upon all other Points, his Opinions were agreeable to the Doctrine received by the Churches ; he was tolerated, promising to live peaceably for the future, and not to publish any thing against the Discipline received and followed by the Churches, &c.

Then they declared the manner of proceeding in Ecclesiastical Censures, which were to be accommodated to the Nature of the Offences ; some are publick, others private and secret : As to the publick, some are more enormous and crying than others, therefore a great deal of Discretion is requisite in the Censures and Reprehensions, and it was ordered to proceed always with Meekness and a Christian Charity. As for Excommunication, no private Man, either Minister or Elder, was allowed to make use of it out of his own Authority, but by the Advice and Consent of the Consistory, to whom it belongs to judge of these Matters, and whether the Sinner had been first admonished in a suitable manner, whether the Offence is publick ; in a word, whether the Sinner deserves such a Punishment.

Those who were excommunicated, were deprived of all Communion with the Church, and of all its Privileges, and the Members of it were to be admonished neither to converse familiarly with

with

with them, nor to frequent their Company, that so they might be ashamed, humbled, and brought to Repentance; the Truth whereof ought to be demonstrated not only by Words, but by Works too, and unexceptionable Evidences, known unto the Consistory, who was to judge whether they ought to be admitted again into the Church; and having summoned, seen, and heard them, and found them truly penitent, the Minister was to declare it unto the whole Congregation, that so they might be stirred up to praise God, for having recovered them unto Repentance. Then those Penitents were to come before the whole Congregation, to give Satisfaction for their past Scandal, confessing and detesting their former Sins and Rebellions, humbly begging pardon of God and of the Church; and thus they were received into the Church's Peace and Fellowship with Joy and publick Thanksgiving. N. B. That none but obdurate Sinners, that could not be brought to a Sense of their Duty by any other means, were excommunicated. 2dly, That that dreadful Act was always publickly done; but as to the Suspension from the Sacrament, sometimes it was published from the Pulpit, sometimes only in the Consistory, according to the Merit of the Cause and the Offender's Dispositions.

Then the Synod proceeded to the examination of several Cases of Conscience; for instance, whether a beneficed Person, who had embraced the Reformed Religion, could be admitted to the Lord's Supper as long as he held the *Benefice*? Answer. Such as hold Benefices under a feigned Name, cannot be admitted to the Lord's Supper. But if they hold it in their own Name, they may be admitted, provided they employ the third part of their Income to holy and pious Uses. All secret Promises of Marriage were declared null.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope
Interregn.



Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope
Interregn.

null. The Churches guilty of a notorious Ingratitude towards their Ministers were to be deprived of their Ministry. Children under twelve Years of Age could not be admitted to the Lord's Supper; but above that Age, the Minister was to judge of their fitness for it. A Man might marry the Sister of his deceased Spouse with whom he was only betrothed. The Accounts for the Church's Money ought to be always settled before the Ministers of the Church, and even, if possible, before all the People. The Consistories were not allowed to intermeddle themselves with the Execution of Dissolution of Marriage, because it belongs of right to the Civil Magistrate. Care was ordered to be taken that Vagrants, by feigned Certificates, might not rob the Church's Charity. Such as would not submit themselves to the Church's Discipline, were not to be reckoned for Members of that Church. Such as would be received into a Church were obliged first to acquaint the Elder of their Ward with it. No other Council besides the Consistory could be established in the Church. Imposition of Hands at the Confirmation of the Ministers was recommended to be observed in those places where it was not formerly observed. It was left to the prudence of the Consistories to admit the Students in Divinity to hear the Debates in their Assemblies.

Parents were to be exhorted to bring other Sureties besides themselves, for their Children, at their Christning.

Judges, Notaries, Scriveners, and others, who by the Duty of their Callings are bound to judge, sign and seal all Matters brought to them, were not to be censured for having given Judgment, or received a last Will, or passed a Contract, or dispatched Writings about Idolatrous Concerns.

But Advocates, Arbitrators, and all others, who were free to undertake a Business or not, were to be admonished, wholly to forbear pleading for, or any other ways to treat of Beneficiary Causes, or such like Matters.

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope
Interregn.

All the Churches in the Kingdom were ordered to be conformable in point of Common publick Prayers. No Person could be married without a sufficient Certificate; and the Banns were to be published in the very places where both the Parties had their Residence. Provincial Synods, and Colloquies were to be established according to the extent of the Government in the State; and if the Government was of too large an extent, and the number of the Ministers too great in it, then they might divide themselves into two Provinces, and as many Synods.

One John DU BARD, alias DU GAR, alias DU GAST, a Socinian Minister, who had vented and defended his Tenets at Poitiers, made a Retraction and an Abjuration of his Errors in full Synod.

It was enacted that the following Order should be observed for the future in the Convocation of the National Synods.

1. As it was usual, there shall be one certain Church appointed, which shall have the power of signifying unto the Provinces the day and place of meeting. 2. Whatever Matters are to be debated in a National Synod, shall be sent up by the severall Provinces unto that appointed Church. 3. The said Church shall call the National Synod within a Year, in a convenient time and place, and give notice thereof three Months before to all the Provinces; and shall send a Duplicate of difficult Matters which are to be propounded and debated, unto the said Provinces, to be considered by them. 4. Such as are charg-

Charles
IX.
1565.
Pope
Interregn.

ed with the Power of calling the said Assembly must know, that it is fitting that one particular Church be nominated in every Province, to which they might direct their Letters; which Church having received them, shall assemble the Provincial Synod within three Months, where the transmitted Difficulties shall be maturely examined, and the Arguments on both sides urged, being fair and carefully written down, shall be sent unto the National Synod. 5. And forasmuch as our present Circumstances will not admit any great number of Ministers and Elders in the National Synod, we are of Opinion, That for this time only, and during these Difficulties, the Brethren assembled in each Provincial Synod should choose from among themselves one or two Ministers, and as many Elders, of the ablest and most expert in Church-Affairs, to be sent in the Name of the whole Province, who shall come furnished with the Powers, Memorials, and with all the Instructions requisite for determining those Difficulties which had been imparted unto them. 6. The Provinces shall not prescribe any set time or term unto these their Deputies for returning, but shall let them tarry in the said Synod as long as there may be need of them, and the Charges of the said Deputies shall be defrayed by their respective Provinces. 7. And that the National Synod may be no more employed in Matters already decided by former Synods, the Provinces shall be exhorted to read over carefully the Acts of the past Synods, before they prepare their Memorials, and to send nothing but what is of a general and common Concern to all the Churches, or what deserves the Attention and Resolution of a National Synod. And the Church of Poitiers which is charged by this present Synod with the calling of the next, shall be informed of all

this,

this, that she might conform herself to these Orders and Regulations.

Then followed some general Advertisements unto the Church, as not to discharge their Elders but for great Causes, whereof the Consistories were to take cognizance.

Charles IX.

1565.

Pope

Interregn.

No Book in defence of the Truth of our Religion was to be written, in a ridiculous or scurrilous manner, but with Modesty. The Churches were to be admonished to maintain some hopeful Scholars at the Universities, who being educated in the Arts and Sciences, may be fitted for and employed in the sacred Ministry. The Noblemen were to be exhorted not to carry along with them the Chaplain of their Houses, when the Places and Churches of the ordinary Residence of these Lords would be thereby left unprovided. They whose Brethren and Sisters have quitted the Monasteries to serve God with Liberty of Conscience, shall be exhorted to admit them into a part of their Estate, at least they shall be compelled by all Censures to afford them Maintenance, and a competent Pension according to their Ability: For they would otherwise shew themselves void of Natural Affection.

This is the short Account of the Transactions and Regulations of the first general Synod, which was the second held at Paris, and which may be found at large in Quick's *SYNODICON in Gallia Reformata*, Vol. I. And Aymon *Synodes Nationaux de France*, Vol. I.

Now we must come to Blois, where we have left the Court. The King came to Moulins in the Month of January, where he had appointed the Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom, to procure a Reconciliation, first between the Houses of Guise and Chatillon, and then between the Houses of Montmorency and the Cardinal of

1566.

XXXI.

Assembly of
the Nota-

bles at
Moulins.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Lorraine; but lest such an Assembly should be looked on as convened for some private Designs rather than for procuring the publick Good, the Presidents of all the Parliaments of the Kingdom had been likewise summoned, that by their Advice some Remedy might be found for healing the great Diseases of the Kingdom, and for redressing the Grievances of the People; whereof the King had taken notice during his Circuit.

The Summons were directed to Christophorus De Thou, first President of Paris, Peter Segulier, President, and John Dasi of Thoulouse, James Benedict Largebaston of Bourdeaux, John Truchon of Grenoble, L. Favre of Dijon, and H. Fornari of Aix in Provence. Being called in the Hall to the King, present the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Montpensier, the Dauphine of Auvergne his Son, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Dukes of Nemours, Longueville and Nevers, the Constable of Montmorency, Odet, Cardinal of Châtillon, the Admiral, and D'Andelot, the Marshals of Damville, Bourdillon, Vielleville, St. Gelais Lanfac, the Counts of Chaulnes, Crussol and Villars, Des Gordes, the Bishops of Orleans, Valence and Limoges.

The King told them, that he had visited his whole Dominions, in order to hear the Complaints of his Subjects distressed by so many Evils, and to redress their Grievances the best way he could; that for that end he had convened them into that place, to hear their Advice, desiring and commanding them, to apply themselves earnestly and vigorously, and as much as he expected from their wonted Zeal and Fidelity to his Service, to find out some proper means, whereby the Will of God should be obeyed, his

Con-

Conscience unburthened, his People relieved, and Justice restored to its former Splendor and Purity.

Charles IX.
1566.
Pope Pius V.

Then Chancellor de L'Hospital, in a set Speech, shewed forth the great and manifold Disorders that were crept into the Kingdom, which he ascribed especially to the bad Administration of Justice, whereto it was absolutely necessary to apply proper Remedies ; that the King had been made sensible of it during the two Years past in his Travels, that he had seen nothing in the Provinces but Concussions and Robberies, committed even by those who are called to administer Justice ; and that he could not without Sin dissemble any longer such Crimes, which were fomented and entertained by Impunity and too great a Licence.

After many other Considerations concerning the Origin, Authority and Appointment of the several Courts of Justice in the Kingdom, he examined whether it would not be very proper to decrease the superfluous number of the Chambers, and to reduce them to their primitive Institution ; and whether it was more proper that the Parliaments were stable as they were, than Ambulatories, as they had been formerly ; and that the Members of it should receive greater Salaries from the Exchequer, if it was possible, than to receive Fees, as it was usual. Whether it was not fit that the Judges should submit themselves to the Censure, and every one of them be obliged to give Account of his Conduct in the discharge of his Office. From whence he inferred, that it would be better if the Judges were only named for two or three Years, than to be for their Life. Many things he said further concerning the Reformation of the Judges, and the Administration of Justice ; whereupon, after se-

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

veral Debates, each Member of that Assembly having delivered his Vote, the famous Edict, which from the *Place* was called the Edict of *Moulins*, was drawn in eighty-six Articles, most of which concern the Administration of Justice, the cutting off the tediousness and length of the Process, and such other useful Regulations tending to the Welfare of the Subjects: Amongst these Articles I shall pick out these two only; by one of them the Money or other things lost by Minors at any hazardous Play was to be recovered by their Tutors, Curators, or their Parents, and the Winner was obliged to restore it to a Farthing. By the other, all Fraternities instituted amongst the People on any religious pretence, riotous Banqueting and Revelling, breaking of Glasses, were entirely forbidden, as occasioning Superstition, Troubles, Quarrels, Lascivity and Monopolies. That Edict was registered and published by the Parliament of Paris on the 23d of December the same Year.

Then was made the feigned Reconciliation between the Houses of Guise and Chatillon above-mentioned, pag. 18, and that of the House of Montmorency with the Cardinal of Lorraine: The Cardinal was obliged to declare that it was not out of Contempt of the Governour's Authority that he had delayed to show him the Letters-Patent he had obtained from the Queen. And the Marshal of Montmorency answered, that in what he had done he had no mind to offend or affront the Cardinal, but only to maintain the King's Authority, as he was obliged by the duty of his Charge. But how far that Reconciliation was sincere, especially on the Cardinal's side, we shall see when we come to speak of the supposed Conspiracy of LA MOLE and CONNANAS (b).

Another

(b) Thuan. Hist. lib. XXXIX. p. 389, 390, 391.

Another Quarrel of no less moment than the former was decided at Moulins. About six Years before, the Duke of NEMOURS, upon a promise of Marriage, had received the last favours of the Lady of ROHAN, surnamed at Court Mademoiselle DE LA GARNACHE, first Cousin to the Queen of Navarr; he begot a Son of her, who bore the Title of Prince of GENEVOIS. The Duke of Nemours kept no Account of his Promises which he refused to perform, notwithstanding all that the King of Navarr could do to compel him. Now the Queen of Navarr having accompanied the King to Moulins, renewed the pursuits of that Affair; but the Interest of Nemours being then united with that of the Guises, prevailed so far, and the Hatred against the Reformed, whose Religion the Lady of Rohan professed, was such, that the said Lady was cast off, and by the Pope's Licence the Promises were declared void and null, and the Duke at liberty to marry another if he pleased.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Therefore the said Duke married the late Duke of Guise's Dowager, and the Ceremony was performed at *St. Maur des Fosses*, near Paris, where the King and the Queen-Mother assisted in Person: A little after were celebrated the Nuptials of the Duke of Montpensier with Renée of Anjou, Heiress to Nicholas of Anjou, Marquis of Mezieres, to whom the King and Queen-Mother did the same Honour as to the Duke of Nemours.

Now, whereas the Duke of Montpensier could not endure to see Frances of Bourbon his Daughter, and Consort to the Duke of Bouillon, following the Reformed Religion, to which he was so averse; in order to reclaim her, he caused a Conference to be held between SIMON VIGOR, afterwards Archbishop of Narbonne, CLAUDIUS

Charles IX. 1566. Pope Pius V. DE SAINTS, afterwards Bishop of Evreux, and JOHN DE L'ESPINE, CHARLES BARBASTE of *Bearn*, both Ministers; and whereas this last could not be present, HUGUES SUREAU, surnamed du Rozier, took his place; the Conference was held at Paris, in Nevers's House, present two Publick Notaries, and the Acts of that Conference were afterwards published at Paris: All the benefit received from that long and tedious Conference was the Confirmation of the Duches of Bouillon in the Reformed Religion.

XXXII. An Incident happened this Year which was like to have broken the Reconciliation made at Moulins between the Noblemen, and which caused great Troubles at Court. One Simon May, a Rake and an Inn-keeper, that lived not far from *Chatillon* upon *Loire*, (where the Admiral resided) in a place out of the Way, and very proper to commit Robberies and Murders, was arrested under Suspicion, that, being suborned by the Admiral's Enemies, he had some ill Design against him; but being in hopes to conceal his real Crimes under the appearances of a fictitious one, and save his Life by that means, he charged the Admiral with an Attempt to bribe him, in order to murder the Queen-Mother, for which, he said, he had offered to him a large Sum of Money, which having refused to do, he had drawn upon himself the Admiral's Hatred, who prosecuted him for Crimes whereof he had never been guilty. But the Judges having thoroughly examined the Evidences, and taking for granted that a greater regard ought to be had to the Actions and the whole Tenor of the Life, than to the Words of a Man, which he speaks in order to save or prolong his Life; and besides that, having not the least proof against the Admiral, condemned the Calumniator to be broken upon

upon the Wheel; he acknowledged his Crime before his Death, and confessed that what he had said against the Admiral was intirely false, and spoken on purpose to save his own Life, thinking that it was the only way remaining.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

This very same Year began the Troubles of the Low Countries, which ended at last by the loss of the seven United Provinces. In order to have a true Notion of this admirable Change we must go a little higher.

The Report of the League between the Kings of France and Spain, for the extirpation of the Protestants and the Reformed, concluded at *Bayonne*, being spread abroad, those of the Low Countries thought proper to make one amongst themselves for the preservation of their civil and religious Rights, invaded by the tyrannical Government of Philip. That League had had its first Beginning at *Bruxelles* in *Kul embourg's House* on the 3d of November 1565, between about twenty Nobles only, which Number increased so fast, that on the third of April following they were above five hundred Lords or Gentlemen that came to *Bruxelles*, in order to tender a Petition to the Governess. But before I proceed any further, I think proper to give a short Account of the Beginnings and Progress of the Reformation in those Provinces.

The Disputes of Luther in Germany were attended with the same Success in the Low Countries as in France; many who wanted only an opportunity, improved this for declaring themselves, and forsaking the Roman Communion, followed the Doctrine of Luther; that went so far, and this Progress was so quick, that Charles the Vth published a Placaert dated from *Worms* on the 8th of May 1521, to put a stop to this Progress, (Margaret of Austria being then Governess

XXXIII.
A short Account of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

verness of these Provinces) whereby it was forbidden to publish any Book, wherein mention was made of the Holy Scripture, or which contained the Explanation of some Passages, without being licensed by the Ordinary of the place or others commissioned by him, with the Consent and Approbation of the Faculty of Divinity in the nearest Univerfity.

The next Year he commissioned FRANCIS VAN DER HULST, his Counsellor in *Brabant*, for examining exactly the Opinions and Faith of the People in all the *Low Countries*, and he associated himself with one NICHOLAS VAN EG-MONT; the first was a great Enemy to all manner of Learning, and the last a Mad-man trusted with a Sword in his Hands. These two Inqui-sitors sent People to Jail under the least suspicion of Heresy, and then they thought of the Charges they should lay upon them. CORNELIUS GRA-PHEUS, Secretary of the City of *Antwerp*, was one of the first Victims of their Fury. In 1523, the Au-stin-Fryars of *Antwerp* were violently persecuted. They had read and approved the Books of Lu-ther. Several of these Monks were sent to Pri-son. The Prior, named HENRY of ZUTPHEN, made his escape out of the Jail. Some of them recanted; but three persisted in their Opinions. They were degraded, and declared Hereticks up-on a Scaffold at BRUSSELS, on the first of July 1523, and the same day two of them expired in the midst of the Flames with an undaunted Cou-rage. As they were led to the Execution-place, they said loudly, *That they suffered for the Chri-istian Religion sake.* Being tied to the Post, and the Fire being kindled, they said the *Apostles Creed*, and sung the *Te Deum*, till the Flames had de-prived them of the use of their Tongues. The third Augustine was brought back to Prison, and

executed in private. This was the first Blood that was shed in the *Low Countries* for Religion sake since Luther's attempts for reforming the Church. As to HENRY of ZUTPHEN, he was massacred the next Year by the Peasants in the Country of *Holstein*, at the instigation of the Clergy.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

At the same time several Persons forsook their Monasteries. Most part of the Inhabitants of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, and *Flanders*, adhered to the Lutheran Doctrine; whereat the Monks were extremely incensed. The Lutherans continued their Assemblies without the City of Antwerp, notwithstanding the *Placaerts* of the Emperor. MARTIN DORPIUS, a learned Dutchman, Professor in Divinity at *Louvain*, suspected of countenancing Lutheranism, and ERASMUS, were both in great danger of their Lives. PHILIP DE LENS, Secretary to the Emperor in the Court of *Brabant*, was thought likewise to countenance the Reformation. WALTER DELEEN, a learned Man, afterwards Professor of Greek at *Embsen*, declared himself for the same Opinions in *Brabant*. ANTHONY FREDERICKS embraced the same Doctrine at *Naerden*, and was followed by many of the chief Inhabitants. JOHN or HENRY RHODIUS, Principal of the College of St. Jerome, at *Utrecht*, CORNELIUS HONIUS, a learned Civilian, and Counsellor in the Courts of *Holland*, renounced the Roman Religion, and followed the Lutheranism. The said Honius, with a Monk named BERNARD, GERARD WORMER, WILLIAM of UTRECHT, JOHN DE BACKER of *Woerden*, who was entered into Holy Orders to please his Father, and WILLIAM GNAPHEUS, Rector of the College of the *Hague*, were imprisoned in this last Town with JOHN SARTORIUS of *Amsterdam*. John de Backer, not yet twenty-seven Years of Age, was tied to a Post, strangled,

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pape Pius
V.

gled, and his Corpse burnt to Ashes in September 1565, for having preached, notwithstanding the Prohibitions, and because he was married; he was first degraded upon a Scaffold, then they put on him a yellow Cassock, and yellow Hat; and so he was led to the place of Execution. As he passed by the Prison, where many Persons were shut up for the Faith, he said loudly unto them, *See, my dear Brethren, I am ready to suffer Martyrdom; cheer up, as faithful Soldiers of Jesus Christ; and being incited by my Example, maintain and defend the Truth of the Gospel against all Unrighteousness.* When the Prisoners had heard these words, they clapt their Hands, uttered joyful Acclamations; and to honour their Friend's Martyrdom, they sung the *Te Deum*, the *Certamen Magnum*, and the Hymn, *O beati Martyrum Solemnia*; and they ceased not till the Martyr had expired. When he was tied to the Post, he said, *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory? Death is swallowed up by the Victory of Christ.* At last the Martyr expired, after having uttered these words: *Lord Jesus! forgive them, for they don't know what they do. O Son of God remember me; have Mercy upon me.*

The Monk Bernard, Gerard Wormer, William of Utretcht, and may be Gnapheus too, would have been condemned to death, had it not been for the Constancy and Stedfastness of the young de Backer, whereby the Judges themselves had been extremely moved. Gnapheus and Honius had been imprisoned without any Examination. They were set at liberty three Months after, upon Securities not to go out of the Hague for two Years together. Honius died during that time; and when the two Years were expired, Gnapheus was set at full liberty, having promised that he would appear whenever he should be

be required. But a little after, he was arrested a second time, on account of a certain Book by him composed for the comfort of a Widow, wherein they pretended that he ridiculed the monastical Life; after a long Examination, he was condemned to do Penance in a Monastery for three Months, living upon Bread and Small Beer only.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Some time after Gnapheus, considering the Persecution which raged in the *Low Countries*, and the War of the Peasants in *Germany*, composed a small Book, the Matter whereof he had extracted out of the Bible, and intitled it, *Mirror for comforting the Sick; or, a Dialogue between Theophilus, Tobias, and Lazarus*. That Book was published without his Knowledge, and was a great prejudice to the Church of Rome. There were several Editions of it printed in a little time; and one of the Printers was condemned to death for it. At last Gnapheus was obliged to leave his own Country. After he was gone from the *Hague*, his Family was exposed to a new Persecution; for a Sausage was found at his House boiling in a Pot with Pease, and it was Lent: it had been put in by a Woman with child, who longed for it. The Judges were very busy about that Affair for two days together; the Physicians were called for, and asked, *Whether it was possible for a Woman with child to long for Flesh in Lent?* After having maturely debated the Question, the Judges pronounced the Sentence, whereby Gnapheus was to be seized dead or alive, wherever he could be found; but very luckily for him he was then very far off from the *Hague*.

The Emperor published another Placaert against the Lutherans in July 1526.

In

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

In 1527 a Widow of *Monickendam* in North-Holland was strangled, and burnt to Ashes at the *Hague* for her Religion.

It was about this time that the Anabaptists began to spread their Tenets in the Low Countries; and caused so great Troubles and shedding of Blood for several Years, as I have hinted before in the first Vol.

But we must not confound those Anabaptists with these of our days, who are a peaceable People, faithful Subjects, Lovers of Virtue, and Enemies of Enthusiasm.

The Reformed too, must not be charged with the Extravagancies of the Anabaptists and other Sectaries of those times, for they have been always condemned with the utmost Abhorrence by them.

John Waden and two other Persons were the first Martyrs of the Anabaptism condemned by the Roman Catholicks in Holland, and burnt little by little at the *Hague* in the Year 1527.

The Dean of *Louvain*, Inquisitor of *Brabant*, Holland, and the adjacent Countries, condemned about sixty Persons to death, or to do Penance, this Year.

On the 28th of January 1528, a new Placaert was published against the Lutheran Books, and against the Monks, who had deserted from their Convents.

HENRY, an Austin-Fryar, was burnt alive at *Tournay*, for having deserted his Order, and having married a Wife, and preached against the Church of Rome. His pardon was offered unto him, if he was willing to declare that his Wife was only his Concubine; which refusing to do, he was executed.

On the 14th of October 1529, a new Edict was published against the Lutherans, whereby those who

who had relapsed were condemned to be burnt. As to the others, Men were condemned to die by the Sword, and Women to be buried alive. Life was offered to all those who should forsake the Reformation, if they had not relapsed, or were not actually Prisoners. It was forbidden by that Ediēt to receive or entertain any Heretick, upon pain of Death and forfeiture of Goods. All Persons suspected of Heresy were excluded from all Honourable Employments; and for the better discovery of Hereticks, half of their Goods forfeited was promised to the Informer, if they did not exceed a hundred Florins of Flanders.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

The 30th of the same Month, WILLIAM of *Zwol* was burnt at Mechlin for Religion sake.

In the Year 1530, a young Man of Naerden, twenty-four Years old, was burnt at the *Hague*. He had made his Study at *Louvain*, and had been very profligate. When he was come back to his own Home, he fell down suddenly one day as he was walking, just as if he had been struck with a Thunder-bolt; he was carried to his own House, thinking he was dead; but he recovered, and from that time he forsook his disorderly Life and the Roman Religion. He went from one place to another, preaching the Reformation; and being summoned to appear at the *Hague*, he came there of his own accord. The first time he got off entirely safe; the second he was chided only for his Obstinacy; at last he was clapt in Prison, and would not improve the opportunities of making his escape offered unto him. When he was led to the place of Execution, he sung a Canticle to the Glory of God; then he pulled off his Shoes and Stockings, which he gave to some Beggars.

MARGARET of AUSTRIA, Daughter to the Emperor Maximilian I. died in the Month of
Decem-

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

December 1530; she had governed the Low Countries with great dexterity for about eighteen Years. MARY, Sister to Charles V. succeeded her in October 1531. She was Widow of LEWIS King of Hungary. That Princess loved Learning, and especially the Latin Tongue.

The Clergy of the Low Countries were very little acquainted with the Bible. The Lutherans translated into Flemish the New Testament of Luther, and then his whole Bible; but it was published some Years afterwards: and it has been observed that that important Work is defective in several places. A Printer was beheaded for having had a Hand in the printing of that Bible. An anonymous Author published a Collection of Passages from the Scripture, which he intitled, *The Well of Life*. That Book extremely displeased the Church of Rome's Adherents: it was printed at Amsterdam. A *Jacobine* of *Brabant* went to that City, and bought a certain quantity of Copies, and burnt them; but it was reprinted again in several places. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the Church of Rome than the prohibiting to the People the reading of the Holy Scripture. Seeing that Holy Book is the Original of the Christian Religion, why doth she forbid to the Christians the reading of it? Is it not because many of her Tenets are not to be found in it? since the Clergy are so cautious to conceal it from the People.

A new Edict against the Lutherans was published at this time, confirming that of the 14th of October 1529, with this further Clause:
 „ That for the future no body should attempt to
 „ write or print, or cause to write or print, any
 „ new Book upon what subject soever, without
 „ having obtained Letters of Licence, upon pain
 „ of being pillory'd; and besides that, of being
 „ branded

„ branded in the Forehead with a hot Iron, or
 „ of having one of his Eyes plucked out, or one
 „ of his Hands cut off, at the discretion of the
 „ Judge, who ought to execute that Sentence
 „ without any delay, and without any mercy.”

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

About the same time nine Men were taken out of their Beds at Amsterdam, and brought to the Hague, where they were beheaded by the Emperor's Command, being suspected of Anabaptism.

The Magistrates of *Limbourg* had shown themselves very moderate towards the Lutherans; but in the Year 1532, at the Instances of the Emperor's Commissaries, six Persons of one and the same Family, the Father, Mother, two Daughters and their Husbands were burnt alive. They sung Psalms as they went to the Place of Execution, and called upon Christ to their last Breath.

In the Year 1533 three Men were burnt at *Arras* for having refused to worship the *Holy Candle* of that City, and for having spoken against those and such like Superstitions. Four Men were likewise executed at *Bois-le-Duc* for Lutheranism.

The Courts of Justice of *Holland* having represented to the Governess of the *Low Countries*, that sometimes it would be very proper and necessary to execute in private the Hereticks that were obstinate, for avoiding the Impression which their Constancy made upon the People's minds, that Princess left it to their Prudence, to do as they should think proper.

In the Year 1534 a Potter of *Bois-le-Duc* was beheaded for Lutheranism, and many other Persons were condemned to undergo several Penances in the same City. WILLIAM WIGGERTSON was beheaded privately in the *Fort of Schagen*.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

ISBRAND SCHOL, a Priest of Amsterdam, conspicuous for his Eloquence and Integrity, was burnt at *Brussels*.

The Church of Rome became every day more and more odious for her Cruelties : nothing was to be seen for many Years in the Low Countries but barbarous Executions of the Lutherans, and others. Charles V. being come into these Provinces in the Year 1540, for suppressing the Sedition of Ghent, published a very severe Edict against the Lutherans and the Anabaptists at the Instances of the Monks and the Clergy ; which Edict occasioned a very cruel Persecution. In the Year 1542 several Women with child were executed in Holland for the pretended Crime of Heresy, and were delivered in the midst of the Flames. For the better discovering of those who preached against the Roman Church, their Pictures were posted at the City-Gates, and in other publick places. In the Year 1547 a new Placaert was published in the Emperor's Name, forbidding all Heretical Books, among which were several Latin, Dutch and French Bibles, printed in France, Switzerland and the Low Countries.

In the Year 1549 the Emperor sent for his Son PHILIP from *Spain*, into the *Low Countries*, and caused the States of those Provinces to pay Homage unto him. While that Prince was at *Rotterdam* with the Governess of the Low-Countries, he had the Curiosity to see the House and the Chamber wherein ERASMUS was born.

An Attempt was made for introducing the Spanish *Inquisition* in the Low Countries. The City of *Antwerp*, and some others of *Brabant* opposed it. There was already an *Inquisition* in the *Low Countries*, but it was far different from that of Spain. In the Year 1555 Charles V. resigned the Crown of Spain and the Low Countries

tries to his Son Philip. This last Prince published a Placaert, whereby he ratified all those published by his Father against the Hereticks. He endeavoured by this Edict cunningly to introduce the Spanish Inquisition, inserting, (without the Knowledge of the Council of the Low Countries) a Clause in the Letters-Patent granted to the Magistrates for taking possession of their Office; but the City of *Antwerp*, and the other great Cities of *Brabant* would not suffer the publishing of it.

Charles IX.
1566.
Pope Pius V.

It would be endless to give an Account of all the Martyrs that suffered at this time and the following Years, amongst whom was the most celebrated ANGE MERULA, who suffered in the Year 1557, being 75 Years old; but it is observable, that when he came to the place of Execution, having obtained the liberty of making his prayers, he did it with such a great Zeal and Fervour that he fell down dead: His Corpse was burnt to Ashes.

The base, cruel and crying Injustices put in use against this learned Man, one of the best of his Age, and his Meekness, his Submission and Resignation to the Will of Almighty God, were such, that certainly they deserve a place in this History.

„ ANGE MERULA was born at the *Brille*, in XXXIV.
 „ the Year 1482. He entered into Holy Orders
 „ at *Utrecht*; being a Man of great Learning and
 „ of an exemplary Life, a Lord of the Province
 „ of *Utrecht* gave him the Living of *Hensfleet*.
 „ He applied himself to the Study of the Bible,
 „ and very soon discovered the Errors of the
 „ Roman Church. In the Year 1552 he made
 „ some Alterations in that part of the Office
 „ wherein mention is made of the Merits, and of
 „ the Intercession of Saints. Nay, he was bold

*Trial and
Sufferings
of Merula.*

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

„ enough to say in his Sermons, and in his
 „ private Discourses, that the Church wanted to
 „ be reformed. The next Year, his Books and
 „ Manuscripts were seized, and he himself was
 „ put into Prison. He was charged with having
 „ said, *That it was better to neglect ten Masses*
 „ *than a single Sermon; that every thing necessary*
 „ *to Salvation is to be found in the Scripture;*
 „ *that Faith without Charity is not a true Faith;*
 „ *that one must live according to the Gospel-rules,*
 „ *without following any other Rule; that those*
 „ *who forsook their Goods wilfully, to go a beg-*
 „ *ging of others, were not truly poor; that the*
 „ *SALVE REGINA was a Canticle blasphematory*
 „ *against God and Jesus Christ, seeing that things*
 „ *which belong only to God and his Son, are ascri-*
 „ *bed to a Creature; that in Italy the Immorta-*
 „ *lity of the Soul and the Resurrection of the Body*
 „ *were not believed; that the Commandments of*
 „ *God are far above all the Synods and Councils,*
 „ *how numerous soever they be, &c.*

„ Merula answered to all these Charges with
 „ a great deal of Wisdom. He was transferred
 „ to the *Hague*: and was obliged to answer to
 „ 108 Articles exhibited against him. In vain
 „ was he intreated to abjure his Opinions; he
 „ was stedfast. The States of *Holland* bewailed
 „ the fate of that good old Man; they admired
 „ his Learning, his Eloquence, his Probity and
 „ his Charity towards the Poor; these last la-
 „ mented publickly, *We are deprived of our Fa-*
 „ *ther, of our Patron, our Defender, and our*
 „ *Comforter in our needs,* did they say. Amongst
 „ other his Charities he had erected an Hospital for
 „ the Poor at the *Brille*. Every one complain-
 „ ed of the Inquisitors Injustice, and said loudly,
 „ that they violated the Rights of the Courts of
 „ Justice in *Holland*.

„ The

„ The Inquisitors desired earnestly to burn
 „ that poor Man, but they were afraid of the
 „ People. To avoid the danger, and rid them-
 „ selves of that Affair, they devised a Trick as
 „ singular in itself as it was base and wicked.
 „ A titular Bishop of *Hebron* came and fell upon
 „ his Knees before the Prisoner, his Head unco-
 „ vered, his Arms crossed, and, with Tears in
 „ his Eyes, he made a very moving Speech un-
 „ to him, *You are*, says he, *a hundred times more*
 „ *learned than we are all; we are persuaded that*
 „ *you mean well, and we agree with you as to the*
 „ *principal Articles. We differ only about some*
 „ *Uses and Ceremonies of the Church, which are*
 „ *indifferent things, depending only upon the Con-*
 „ *ductors of the Church. Submit then yourself, to*
 „ *the Church and its Decisions, I do beseech you.*
 „ *You see that the People are much exasperated a-*
 „ *gainst us: Will you expose us to the Violence*
 „ *and Fury of the Mob? Preserve your Life for*
 „ *the Poor's sake, who desire your Preservation*
 „ *with such abundance of Tears. Preserve our*
 „ *Lives that depend on you. The only thing that*
 „ *we do require of you, is, that you would own,*
 „ *that you have imprudently undertaken to abolish*
 „ *some Uses and Ceremonies, which, in their na-*
 „ *ture, are indifferent, and that you are sorry for*
 „ *it: If that Confession offends your own Consci-*
 „ *ence, we do take all the blame upon us. Utter-*
 „ *ing these last words, the Bishop gave one of*
 „ *his Hands to the Prisoner, and put the other*
 „ *upon his Breast.*

Charles
 IX.
 1566.
 Pope Pius
 V.



„ Merula was so much moved by that Speech,
 „ that he promised to do what he was required.
 „ A little after he was brought upon a Scaffold,
 „ but instead of reading before him the Articles
 „ agreed with the Bishop of Hebron, they read
 „ the chief Articles of his own Opinion, and that

Charles IX. 1566. Pope Pius V.

„ with such a low Voice, and so fast, that the
 „ poor old Man, who was deaf, could hear no-
 „ thing of what they said. To which they add-
 „ ed without any stop; and in the same man-
 „ ner, that he abjured the Errors of Luther;
 „ that he believed sincerely whatever was taught
 „ in the Church of Rome, and promised upon
 „ his Oath to live and die in its Communion;
 „ declaring that whoever should do the contrary,
 „ would be damned eternally; and if he had for
 „ the future any other Opinion he submitted him-
 „ self to the utmost rigour of the Ecclesiastical
 „ Laws; that he besought the Assistants to pray
 „ God that he would forgive his former Here-
 „ sies, which he heartily abjured now; and beg-
 „ ged pardon of all those whom he had de-
 „ ceived.

„ Then he was asked loudly, Whether he did
 „ not consent to whatever had been read to him?
 „ he, mistrusting of nothing, and thinking that
 „ nothing had been read but what had been
 „ agreed between him and the Bishop of He-
 „ bron, answered affirmatively. He desired to
 „ read the Paper before he should sign it; but
 „ the Inquisitors told him that they were in haste,
 „ because the People made a great noise. It is
 „ remarkable, that a great Alteration was obser-
 „ ved in the People. Love and Compassion
 „ were changed into Hatred and Wrath against
 „ Merula, because they thought that he had ab-
 „ jured really. That Abjuration was followed
 „ by a Sentence whereby Merula's Manuscripts
 „ were condemned to be burnt; himself to be
 „ deprived of his Living, declared incapable of
 „ performing any of the Ecclesiastical Functions;
 „ that he should read his Abjuration from the
 „ Pulpit in his Church on a Sunday, or some
 „ other Holy-day; that he was condemned to

„ a perpetual Imprisonment, and to do Penance all
 „ the days of his Life ; and should pay all the
 „ Charges of his Trial.

Charles
 IX.

1566.

Pope Pius
 V.

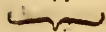
„ When that unfortunate Man understood that
 „ he had been so basely imposed on by the In-
 „ quisitors, he was so grieved for it, that he fell
 „ sick, and was transferred from the Prisons of
 „ the Hague to a Convent at *Delft*, where he
 „ composed a Refutation of the Sentence pro-
 „ nounced against him.

„ In the Year 1555 he was brought from
 „ *Holland* to Louvain, and obliged to feed upon
 „ Bread and Water only, every Monday, Wed-
 „ nesday and Friday. He declared openly there,
 „ that he believed whatever he had preached, or
 „ written, and that he was resolved to defend
 „ it to the last.

„ The next Year they endeavoured in vain, by
 „ some Conferences and Threatnings, to bring
 „ him to a Recantation of his Opinions. Every
 „ one admired his Constancy, and even several
 „ Members of the University said publicly, that
 „ that old Man was treated with great Injustice
 „ and Cruelty. The Inquisitor TAPPER caused
 „ him to be transferred from Louvain into an
 „ Abby of *Hainaut*, where he stayed for about
 „ a Year. The King being made to believe
 „ that Merula had relapsed, ordered that he should
 „ be brought from that Abby to the Prisons of
 „ *Mons*, and to make an end of that Trial.
 „ The Inquisitors desired no better. That Or-
 „ der was executed on the 4th of June 1557,
 „ and Merula was shut up in a hideous Dun-
 „ geon. At last TAPPER had him declared a
 „ *Heretick Relapse*, and as such condemned to be
 „ burnt.

„ Merula was transferred to *Mons* very secret-
 „ ly, that they might put him to death, before

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.



„ his Friends in *Holland* could be in a condition
 „ of opposing the Designs of the Inquisition ;
 „ for TAPPER and his AGENTS were afraid lest
 „ the States of *Holland* would revindicate their
 „ Rights which had been violated in Merula's
 „ Trial. His Nephew knew not that he had
 „ been put in Prison at *Mons* : he arrived in that
 „ City on the 27th of July at ten o'clock in the
 „ Morning, just at the time when Merula was
 „ led to the place of Execution. That good
 „ Man was leaning upon his Stick, but was so
 „ wasted by the long and cruel Sufferings he
 „ had been exposed to in the Prisons for about
 „ five Years, that his Nephew did not know
 „ him at first. As soon as his Uncle saw him,
 „ what Joy did he not feel ? for he loved him
 „ intirely. He spoke to him to the following
 „ purport :

„ *My Son*, says he, *here is the time that God*
 „ *calls me to seal up with my blood the Truth*
 „ *which I have drawn out of his Holy Word. I have*
 „ *been carried out of my Country, and after hav-*
 „ *ing been transferred from one place to another,*
 „ *at last I have been brought here : I am prepared*
 „ *to be offered up as a pure Victim to Jesus Christ.*
 „ *My Soul longs to be with my God. The High-*
 „ *waymen and Murderers are treated with more*
 „ *Lenity than I am. Give notice to our Relati-*
 „ *ons and Friends in our dear Country of what you*
 „ *have seen. You have been always faithful unto me.*
 „ *You would have been my Heir ; I beseech you to*
 „ *bear with Patience, the loss of that Inheritance,*
 „ *and with the same Constancy that I bear the*
 „ *loss of my Life. You do not want either good*
 „ *Sense or Learning, and you know that I took*
 „ *care to cultivate both these Qualities in you,*
 „ *You are of Age ; marry that Woman whom I did*
 „ *destine for you. Trust in God ; take care of the*
 „ *Hospital*

„ *Hospital founded by me for the Poor at the*
 „ *Brille. I hope they will let the Poor enjoy peace-*
 „ *ably what I have given unto them ; and that*
 „ *the Procurator-Fiscal of the States will be more*
 „ *merciful than the Inquisitors.* Could greater
 Temper, Calmness, and good Sense, be found in
 any other Martyr in such Circumstances ?

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

„ When MERULA had done speaking, it is
 „ impossible to express what Tenderneſs, what
 „ Love and Compassion both the Uncle and the
 „ Nephew felt when they parted one from an-
 „ other. That Holy Martyr continued his
 „ March, walking between a Monk and the
 „ Executioner, exhorting the People, as he went,
 „ to fear God, and to love the Truth. Being
 „ arrived at the Wood-Pile, he asked leave for
 „ putting up his Prayers to God ; which being
 „ granted, he did it with such a Fervency, that
 „ he fell down dead as abovesaid (c).

The Sufferings and Constancy of the Martyrs
 moved the People to so great pity for them,
 that many comforted them as they went to be
 executed, and sung Psalms with them. Nay, in
 several Places whole Communities of Protestants
 undertook to rescue the Confessors, as they were
 ready to be put to death.

XXXV.
Continua-
tion of the
State of
Religion in
the Low
Countries.

In the Year 1559 died suddenly the cruel
 TAPPER at *Brussels* ; he was about 71 Years of
 Age ; born at *Enchuyſen*, Dean of *Louvain*, and
 Great Inquisitor of the *Low Countries*. It is pre-
 tended that that detestable Monster said : *It is*
no matter whether those who die for Religion sake,
are guilty or not, provided that we could frighten
the People with such Examples ; and we cannot
fail

(c) Merula, is *Merle* in French : He was great Uncle to
 Paul Merula, once Professor of History at Leyden, and
 known by several Works. *Hist. Abregée de la Ref. des*
Pays-bas, trad. du Holl. de Gerard Brandt, liv. IV.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

fail to succeed, when Persons conspicuous for their Learning, or Riches, or Nobility, or their great Employments, are sacrificed in that manner. To which he added, that such Executions were necessary, especially at Amsterdam.

One of the secret Articles of the Treaty concluded this Year at *Chateau-Cambresis*, between the two Crowns of France and Spain, was, (*as we have said in our first Vol.*) That the said Princes should use unanimously all their endeavours to extirpate Heresy out of Christendom. Henry II. King of France, told it to the Prince of Orange; which Indiscretion, very likely, was the occasion of the following Troubles and Revolutions.

This same Year King Philip resolved to go to Spain, inasmuch that the Reformation began to be introduced in that Kingdom. He trusted the Government of the *Low Countries* to MARGARET, Duchess of *Parma*, his Natural Sister; and he commanded that Princess and the Privy Council to put in execution all the Edicts published by his Father and himself against the Hereticks: he gave the same orders to the Governours of each Province. He made some Regulations in the University of *Louvain*, for stopping the Progress of the new Opinions. And it was with the same view that he founded an University at *Donay*, the Inhabitants whereof spoke French; that his Subjects should not be obliged to send their Children into foreign Countries, to learn that Language. And whereas he knew that the Dissoluteness of the Clergy was in great part the Cause of that Abhorrence, which had been conceived against the Church of Rome; he endeavoured with all his Might to have the Council assembled again at *Trent*, in hopes that they would find some proper Remedies for that

Dis-

Disease. He framed the Design of erecting some new Bishopricks in the *Low Countries*; and it is said that there was in that Scheme some great Mystery of State hidden under the specious presence of Religion. The States of the Low Countries were assembled at *Ghent*, in the Month of August. The Lords required the King to withdraw the foreign Troops out of the Provinces; to give the Government of the strong Cities and Castles to none but Natives; and that no Foreigner should be admitted to the Government of the *Low Countries*. The King was much surprized and angry at these Demands; he doubted not but that the Prince of *Orange* was the chief Instigator thereof: However, dissembling his Resentment, he fed them with fair words. The Bishop of *Arras* insisted much upon the receiving of the Spanish *Inquisition*. Several Members of that Assembly shewed their Reluctancy against it; some of them declared openly, *that the Low Countries were not used to bear such a Yoke; that the very Name of INQUISITION was dreadful to them; that Heresy was a Disease that might be cured by some Remedies more lenitive than Sword and Fire, &c.* One of Philip's Ministers told him, that he ran the hazard, by his Severity, to lose the *Low Countries*, at least part of these Provinces; he answered, *that he chose to see himself deprived of all his Dominions, rather than to possess them imbibed with Heresy.* He embarked at *Flushing*, and having escaped a great Storm upon the Coast of *Biscay*, wherein most part of his Fleet perished, he said, *that Providence had preserved him, that he might forward the Glory of God by the Destruction of Heresy.* He was present at some AUTO'S DA FE at *Seville* and *Valladolid*; wherein several Persons of great Distinction were made Victims to the Fury of

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles IX. the Inquisitors, and Hardheartedness of their King.

1566.
Pope Pius V.

About this same time PAUL IV. erected, by his Bull, three new Archbishopricks, viz. *Mechlin, Cambray and Utrecht*. By the same Bull the Bishops with their Chapters were to perform the Office of *Inquisitors* in their respective Dioceses. Every one was frightened at this News; but the worst of all was, that ANTHONY PERRENOT of *Granvelle*, Bishop of *Arras*, named to the Archbishoprick of *Mechlin*, had been promoted to the Cardinalship. A *Burgundian* by Birth, intirely sold to the Court of *Rome*! every thing was to be feared for the liberty of the Provinces, over which it was foreseen, that he would rule after the *Italian and Spanish* Method. And since that Man, by his Pride, and his cruel Counsels and Departments, gave birth to the Liberty of the *United Provinces*, it will not be improper to insert here his Character, such as I found it in AGRICOLA's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Book VI. ch. i.

XXXVI. „ Those who judge of Ministers of State,
Of the Cardinal of *Granvelle*. „ says he, by their Actions, or great Undertakings, and praise all their bad Qualities, provided that they keep their Ground, and maintain themselves in their Credit to the last, will, to be sure, allow the first place to ANTHONY PERRENOT, Son to NICHOLAS PERRENOT, *Sieur* of *Granvelle*, born at *Nozeroy*, from whence he removed to *Besançon*; a Man of low Extraction, but who, for his great Capacity and Experience, was raised by Charles V. to be his Secretary of State, and was made by him Count of the Holy Empire, with the Faculty of coining Money of Gold and Silver. He took great care to train up his Children that they might succeed „ him

„ him in the Ministry, with the same Reputa-
 „ tion, and his Labour was not in vain; for
 „ Anthony Perrenot and Thomas Perrenot, Sieur
 „ of *Chantonay*, his Brother, answered so well
 „ their Father's Expectations, that Spain could
 „ boast that she never had before greater Poli-
 „ ticians, nor more faithful Partizans. I shall
 „ add, that she never had before a more learned
 „ Man, nor more able Speaker than the Cardi-
 „ nal was; but far from ascribing to him the
 „ Title of *Defender of the Faith, and Protector*
 „ of Religion; whereof he made use, as a pre-
 „ tence to justify his own Conduct in the Go-
 „ vernment of the *Low Countries*: contrariwise,
 „ I think myself obliged to speak here of him
 „ as of the first Author of the Progress of He-
 „ resy (*he means the Reformation*) by the Seve-
 „ rity of his Administration, and by his Haugh-
 „ tiness, whereby he drew upon himself the Ha-
 „ tred of the People, and of all the Great Men
 „ in Flanders; which obliged the King of Spain
 „ to recal him. We have already seen that he
 „ and his Brother de Chantonay stirred up the
 „ Fire, during our religious Wars, instead of en-
 „ deavouring to put it out, as they were in duty
 „ bound, had they been so good Catholics, as
 „ they boasted; and that they desired to see us
 „ destroying one another, for attempting after-
 „ wards upon this Crown with more ease. Now
 „ can we not say with a great deal of reason, that
 „ the Concerns of the Faith which he took upon
 „ him to defend with so much Violence, was but a
 „ pretence for oppressing the remains of the great
 „ Lords in the *Low Countries* who opposed
 „ their long Services, and their Qualities to the
 „ Attempts of that *New-Comer*. And indeed
 „ the Chancellor of *Burgundy* was much in the
 „ right, more wise than the *Flemish* that made
 „ „ Bon-

Charles
 IX.
 1566.
 Pope Pius
 V.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

„ Bonfires for the accession of their Prince to
 „ the Crown of Spain ; he told them, *that these*
 „ *Bonfires could not be named otherwise than the*
 „ *first Flames of the future Combustions of their*
 „ *Country, under the Tyranny of the Governours,*
 „ *and even of a foreign Government.* This they
 „ experienced, especially under the Cardinal of
 „ Granvelle and the Duke of Alva, this last be-
 „ ing only the Avenger of the Quarrels of the
 „ first, and the Executor of his Designs and
 „ Maxims. The Inquisition, whereof he intend-
 „ ed to make use, was rather to serve for the
 „ Crimes of State than for that of Heresy ; and
 „ it was on purpose to render it more general,
 „ that he undertook to alter, nay, to trouble
 „ the Ecclesiastical State by the Ereccion of these
 „ new Bishopricks, that they might be as many
 „ Sees of Inquisition, whereof he was the Chief
 „ as Archbishop of *Mecklin.* And whereas what
 „ he did in that respect was against the People's
 „ Privileges and Liberties, he stirred them up,
 „ and in that violence of Passion, he occasioned
 „ the Change of Religion in several who embraced
 „ the new Opinions almost out of spite. To this
 „ the Discontents of the great Lords was much
 „ conducive ; they had warmly opposed his De-
 „ signs, but in vain, and saw themselves expo-
 „ sed, as well as the Commoners, to the said Ef-
 „ fects of that Authority which he exercised in
 „ the Country, and of that dreadful Influence
 „ which he had in the King's Council : There-
 „ fore they thought that it was their best way to
 „ support that Party (*the Protestant*) for their
 „ own Security, rather than out of any Principle
 „ of Conscience (*d*). For every one knows that
 „ the

(d) That is not true as to the Prince of Orange, who had been brought up in the Protestant Religion, till Charles V.

„ the Religion of the Great Men lies commonly
 „ on their own Interest. To that Disorder the
 „ REPUBLICK OF HOLLAND is beholden for its
 „ Birth; and it owes to that Cardinal a STATUE
 „ amongst those that have set it at liberty. All
 „ that can be said in that Man's behalf, is, that,
 „ may be, he would have compassed his ends,
 „ had he not been recalled, and put the Noble
 „ to a *non-plus*. But, tho' even that is dubious,
 „ can any body deny that he was much in the
 „ wrong to bring Matters to such an extremity,
 „ as to occasion a civil War, and to venture the
 „ State and Religion upon a private Quarrel?
 „ and can it be found that it is lawful for a prime
 „ Minister to embroil the Affairs to such a de-
 „ gree, that he should be the only Man able to
 „ disentangle them, without being justly suspect-
 „ ed of attempting against his Master, and with-
 „ out being justly charged with an Ambition per-
 „ nicious to his State, whereby he intends to
 „ make himself more necessary than the King
 „ himself. Therefore I shall oppose to the praise
 „ of his *Stedfastness*, the blame of his wicked and
 „ untoward Obstinacy; I shall ascribe to his
 „ Pride and Haughtiness, the ill usage the Peo-
 „ ple received at his Hands, and the Quarrels he
 „ had with the Nobility, rather than to his Af-
 „ fection for the Service of his Prince; I shall
 „ affirm, that he had less Religion than Policy in
 „ his Attempt for settling the Spanish Inquisi-
 „ tion; which he did rather for encreasing the
 „ number of Hereticks than for destroying them;
 „ to the end that he might have a pretence for
 „ keeping up *Tribunals* and *Prisons* out of the
 „ ordinary forms and uses of Justice, from
 „ whence

Charles
 IX.
 1566.
 Pope Pius
 V.

took him into his Court; nor of the Lord de Brederode,
 and some others, who adhered to the Protestant Religion
 out of Principle.

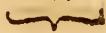
Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

„ whence they could not claim the Laws and Privi-
 „ leges of their Country, nor their natural Judges;
 „ and where the misfortune of being suspected
 „ for too great a Merit and good Qualifications,
 „ and may be for too great a Love for his Coun-
 „ try, would be more cruelly punished than the
 „ blackest Crimes of all, by the foreign Gover-
 „ nour who attempted to oppress the said Li-
 „ berty. (*He proceeds to prove that the Cardi-
 „ nal acted not out of Principle of Religion, because
 „ he kept secret Correspondence with the Reformed of
 „ France, and endeavoured to set them and the Ca-
 „ tholicks together by the Ears.*) „ But for all
 „ that he has been the most praised Man of his
 „ time, and that too by the ablest Writers. And,
 „ may be, shall he be so too in the future, be-
 „ cause of the habit of suffering every thing in
 „ Persons of a publick Character, even to that
 „ degree as to submit Religion to their Interest.
 „ I shall observe further a thing very remarkable,
 „ viz. that he gave up himself intirely to world-
 „ ly Affairs, and secular Employments, and scarce
 „ has he been seen twice performing any of the
 „ Functions of so many Ecclesiastical Dignities;
 „ which served only to afford him Titles that he
 „ might appear greater to the World. He was
 „ Canon and Archdeacon of *Besançon* without
 „ residing, and Bishop of *Arras*, at the Empe-
 „ ror's Court, which he followed constantly :
 „ He assisted at the Council of *Trent*, as Em-
 „ bassador, was Archbishop of *Mecklin*, per-
 „ forming the Functions of a Minister of State in
 „ the *Low Countries*; from whence being recal-
 „ led a little after, he kept his Dignity for about
 „ two Years; then he was made a Cardinal (e);
 „ Viceroy

(e) There must be some Mistake either in *Agricola*, or in *Brandt's Abbreviator*, as to the time when *Granvelle* was made a Cardinal; for this last places it twenty Years before, which is more likely.

„ Viceroy of *Naples*, President of the Council
 „ of Italy for the Catholick King, wherein he
 „ signalized his Zeal by a Persecution against the
 „ Archbishop of *Naples*. At last he was made
 „ Archbishop of *Besançon*, where he never resi-
 „ ded but after his death, which happened at
 „ *Madrid* on the 21st of September 1586, being
 „ 70 Years old. And even he ordered by his
 „ Will that he should be buried hard by his
 „ Father, in the Carmelites Church, rather than
 „ hard by his Predecessors in his Cathedral. And
 „ in his Life-time he chose the Name of Cardi-
 „ nal of *Granvelle*, (his Father's Name) before
 „ that of *Mechlin*, or of *St. Sabine*, or of *Besan-*
 „ *çon*, as having had always a greater regard for
 „ temporal Titles. He ended his days in the
 „ midst of the Court, and of the management
 „ of publick Affairs, as he had lived, and with
 „ such a Success which would make me to con-
 „ clude, that he has been the happiest Man of his
 „ Age, was it not that Moral Philosophy for-
 „ bidding us to pronounce a Man happy before
 „ his death, the Christian Religion raises very
 „ just doubts in our Minds as to the state of a
 „ Man, who is to answer for the performance of
 „ the Duties incumbent with so many different
 „ Charges and Offices, and who is to justify so
 „ many Maxims before a God who requires that
 „ Kings should reign by him, and who does not
 „ suffer with Impunity that Policy should attempt
 „ upon Providence, whereby he disposes of the
 „ Government of the States.”

Charles
 IX.
 1566.
 Pope Pius
 V.



Such is the Character which AGRICOLA gives us of the Cardinal of Granvelle; if it is not translated word for word, I may say that I have rendered it faithfully as to the true meaning of the words.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

XXXVII.
*Continuation of the
Affairs of the Low
Countries.*

The King of Spain had given him for Counsel unto the Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Low Countries, with positive Orders to take and follow his Advices in every thing. This was the Man who begun the Work whereof the DUKE OF ALVA made an end some Years afterwards.

The Erection of the nine new Bishopricks had much irritated the Monks, because they had been obliged to part with some of their Lands and other Revenues for the Maintenance of these new Sees. The Magistrates of *Antwerp, Louvain, Ruremonde, Deventer, Groningue* and *Lewarden*, being sensible of the weakening of their Authority, by that of the Bishops, opposed them with such a Resolution that they did not enter into their Cities, or they were expelled out of them. These Oppositions of the Catholicks gave Courage to the new Sects; they increased considerably. The Persecution was renewed against the Protestants in the Year 1559, and a vast number of them suffered Martyrdom. Amongst whom was one JOHN HEERWIN. He had been formerly very profligate, but had amended his Life since he had frequented the Protestant Meetings at London. His change was fatal to him, as to this present Life. Being come back into Flanders his native Country, in the Year 1560, he was arrested, and condemned to death for his Religion. The Reflection which he made upon his Condemnation deserves to be taken notice of in this place. *There is, says he, GENTLEMEN, the Recompense which this wretched World gives to the Servants of Christ. While I gave up myself to Drunkenness, while I did pass Days and Nights at play, and lived in the most shameful Dissolutions; then I ran no hazard of being loaded with these Fetters, I was welcomed every where, and every one was glad of my Company.*

But

But I no sooner began to lead a more sober Life, than the World hath declared itself against me. So the best sort of Men were condemned to death, while the Profligate did find Mercy and Favour. No wonder if on certain Occasions the People rose up against the Executors of such Injustices, as it happened at Valenciennes in 1561.

Charles IX.
1566.
Pope Pius V.

The first Confession of Faith of the Protestants of the Low Countries was published that Year, it had been drawn up by GUIDE BRÉS, with the help of Adrian Savaria, and three or four other Ministers. It contained thirty-seven Articles, much like to that of *Geneva*. For which reason the Churches that received it took thenceforward the Title of Reformed Churches, as those of France.

So many things concurred then to the general Discontent of the Provinces, that a general Assembly of the States was earnestly desired, in hopes that it would restore Order and Tranquillity. But Philip had expressly forbidden the Governess to convene any during his Absence; and all that she could do for remedying the inward Diseases, and for obviating the outward, wherewith the Country was threatened, was to assemble in the Year 1562, the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and the Stadtholders or Governours of the Provinces. These Lords took secret measures between themselves for frustrating the Designs of Granvelle; and they deputed publicly the Lord Montigni to the King for informing his Catholick Majesty of the State of Affairs. He represented *that all the Evil came from the Erection of the new Bishopricks without the Consent of the States; from the dread of a Spanish Inquisition; and from the general Hatred conceived against the Cardinal's Administration.* To all this the Spanish Ministry answered in general; excusing the

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Cardinal ; saying that the People did not take right the King's meaning in the Erection of the Bishopricks ; that they had no mind to settle the Spanish Inquisition in the *Low Countries* ; and as to the rest, that the King was resolved to go very soon into those Provinces, that he himself might take away all occasion of Complaints from his beloved Subjects.

But while they talk'd at that rate at Madrid, Orders were secretly dispatched from the Court to the Governes for increasing the Persecutions ; and Granvelle carried his Pride and Cruelty so far, that the greatest Lords declared themselves openly against him. The PRINCE OF ORANGE, and the COUNTS OF EGMONT and HORN, absented from the Council ; they wrote to the King against the Cardinal, and then they made an Association between them and the principal Nobility. Philip was obliged to recal his Minister in 1564, but to avoid some part of the Shame, he went out of *Bruxelles* on pretence of going into *Burgundy* to pay a visit to his Mother.

The confederated Nobility were mightily pleased with these Advantages they had obtained over the Favourite. The Lords that had absented themselves from the Council, took again their places in it, and the Prince of Orange was willing to manifest unto all the World the defects of the last Ministry. For that end, he made use of one FRANCIS BAUDOUIN, a learned Civilian, who, in a Discourse written on purpose upon the Matter, asserted that *Religion could not, nor ought not to be maintained by Violence ; and that the Protestants got more ground every day by the Persecution than by a Toleration.* That Gentleman was one of the two, whom the Lords associated, who were resolved to consult about Religious Matters.

Matters. The other was CASSANDER, who had been recommended by the Count of Horn.

Charles IX.
1566.
Pope Pius V.

We must not imagine that these Lords had at this time forsaken the Roman Religion ; some of them forsook it but few Years after, and some others never ; the Prince of Orange had been brought up in the Protestant Religion in his Childhood, but Charles V. as abovesaid, having taken him to his Court, caused him to be educated in the Roman Religion, which he professed still at this time. But they thought that the best way for stopping the progress of the Reformation, was to reform the Clergy, to instruct the People, and to abolish the penal Laws. Nay, they went further, for they proposed to allow to every one Liberty of Conscience, and to grant the Communion *sub utraque*. The Prince of Orange explained himself very plainly, and with a great deal of Vivacity, in an Assembly called by the Governess about the latter end of 1564. There he declared, „ That the Severity of the „ Government, the Inquisition, and the Bishop- „ ricks newly erected, could be but of very bad „ Consequence ; that the Corruption of the Cler- „ gy was very scandalous, and that it was time „ to put a stop to it ; that the Royal Authority „ would prove insufficient for introducing the „ Council of Trent, in a Country so near Ger- „ many ; and that tho' he had himself a great „ Zeal for the Catholick Religion, nevertheless „ he could not be of Opinion, that the Sove- „ reigns had any Jurisdiction over the Consci- „ ence of their Subjects.”

It was resolved in that Assembly to send the Count of EGMONT into Spain, and he set out out at the beginning of the Year 1565. He was very graciously received at the Court of *Madrid*, in a view of taking him off from the Association.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Nothing was neglected for that end. He had several Audiences of the King, who feigned to refer much to his Counsels, tho' he never went so far as to abate a single Tittle of the Articles concerning Religion. And to show him that it was not out of Infatuation, he called an Assembly of some of his Divines, and consulted them about the Liberty of Conscience, which some Cities of the *Low Countries* desired. Most part of the Divines having answered, *that considering the Circumstances of the times, the King could grant it without sinning against God*; the King told them, *that his Query was not whether he could do it, but whether he was obliged to do it in Conscience?* Then the Divines answered plainly, *that they did not think that any indispensable Duty obliged him so to do it.* The King strengthened by that Decision, so much agreeable to his own Inclination, kneeled down before a Crucifix, and spoke to it to this purport; *I beseech you, O God and Lord of all things, that I might persevere all the days of my Life in the same Mind as I am now, never to be a King by Name, or by Fact of any Country, where you shall not be acknowledged for Lord.*

The Count of Egmont received an Answer in writing, the purport whereof was; *That the King would never suffer to make any Alteration in Religion, that however he gave leave to the Council of the Low Countries for calling three or four Bishops, some Divines and some Civilians, for advising together about the means of instructing the People, as well by the exposition of Truth, as by the Reformation of Schools; that he commanded to work without delay the extirpation of Heresy; that however if it was found that the penal Laws did not answer the end they had been made for, he would not oppose the Substitution of some others more efficacious.*

Accordingly the Divines and the Civilians of the Low Countries were consulted; the first having prevailed in the Resolutions taken, they declared themselves for Persecution against Hereticks, and added that the Council of Trent had done whatever could be done towards the Reformation so much desired: it remained only to put its Canons in execution, for keeping the Clergy in the bounds of their Duties, and that nothing could be done better for the Reformation of the Schools than what had been prescribed by the Council.

Nothing could be better pleasing to the King than such a Decision. He intended really to introduce the Council of Trent in the *Low Countries*; and the positive Orders for executing that Design arrived at *Brussels* very little after the Count of Egmont's. The Governess having received them, advised with the Bishops, the Stadtholders, the Civilians, and the Universities. All of them voted for the Reception of the Council; save only in what concerned the Rights and Privileges of the King and of his Subjects either Ecclesiastical or Lay-men. That Restriction was very necessary to bridle the Licence of the Inquisitors. For by the Decision of the Council of Trent it was enacted, that no civil Authority had power either of suspending or annulling Excommunications pronounced by spiritual Judges, to whom only the cognizance thereof do belong. Such a Decision was no wise agreeable to a People who had ever enjoyed the Privilege of appealing to the secular Magistrate from the Sentence of their Bishops, when they thought that they were wronged by them. Therefore the Court of Holland insisting upon the Concordate, opposed warmly that Article.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.



Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

The Governes sent notice of that Opposition to the King her Brother, and told him by the same Messenger that the Count of EGMONT was one of those who complained the more, that he seemed to have expected some Mitigation in the Affairs concerning Religion; and that he said, that the King had promised such a thing unto him. But Philip did not alter his Course for all that, he reiterated the most severe Edicts he had published. The Governes sent to the Bishops and the Stadtholders of the Provinces, and to all the Magistrates of the Cities, the Placaerts whereby the Establishment of the Inquisition, and the Publication of the Council of Trent were confirmed.

Some of those who received these things, dreading the consequences thereof, wrote to the Governes. The Prince of Orange was one of them; his Letter is dated from *Breda* the 24th of January 1566. *Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp,* and *Bois-le-Duc* made their Remonstrance to the sovereign Council of *Brabant*. Which being consulted by the Governes upon that Affair, answered freely, *that the Province was not obliged to submit itself to the Inquisitors Authority*. The Council of State answered to the same purpose, and in general every one was so sensible of the Injustice of the last Orders sent from Spain, that the Magistrate durst not publish them at *Bois-le-Duc*, and that in several other places it was with much ado that they prevented an Insurrection. And even in some places the Executions of the Inquisition were done in secret, and in a way far different from that which had been observed before; for instead of burning or hanging, they drowned; and for that purpose they kept in the Prisons some large Tubs full of Water, wherein they

they threw the wretched Heretick, Hands and Feet tied, till he was entirely suffocated. It is said, that that most CHRISTIAN INVENTION owed its Original to the CATHOLICK BRAINS of the glorious King Philip.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

Great Oppositions were made to the Establishment of the Inquisition: And the Pride, Haughtiness and exceeding Cruelties of the Inquisitors, brought Matters to almost a general Confusion; the Cities of *Flanders* insisted two or three times with the Governess, and shewed forth, that what was required of them was quite contrary to their Privileges and Liberties; that INQUISITION had never been admitted either by the General States, or by the four Members; and that they desired that it should be abolished, at least, as to the Authority which it had usurped over the Lay-men. Their Remonstrances having not the desired Effect, they presented another Petition, but no greater regard was paid to it, only Orders were sent to the Inquisitor at Bruges not to proceed in his Pursuits against the Reformed in that City till new Orders from the King.

This Year 1566 the Reformed of the Low Countries printed again their Confession of Faith, which they dedicated to the King, and made their Apology as to the Crimes laid to their charge.

The dread of the Inquisition had so much seized upon every one, that the chief Nobility made a League between themselves for hindering its Establishment. The more zealous Catholicks were admitted into it as well as others. That could not be done so secretly, but the Governess had some hint of it; and whereas Fame magnifies ordinarily the Objects, that Princess was told that the League was already more than fifteen thousand Men strong, who were all ready
to

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

to revenge themselves upon the Provinces; if Liberty of Conscience was not allowed. At this News the Governess being frightened, she summon'd the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and the Stadt-holders of the Provinces: And above all, she invited in a very obliging manner the Prince of Orange and Count of Horn, who had absented from Court, to be present at that Assembly. Every Member voted for MILDNESS, and for LIBERTY. The Governess, who was better acquainted than any body else with her Brother Philip's Intentions, knew very well that the only way to please him, was to make use of the most violent methods. But what could she do? She was obliged by her Circumstances either to yield, or to take up Arms; but in the last case, to whom could she give the Command of the Army? She mistrusted the Prince of Orange; and the Count of Egmont being sollicitated to take that Charge upon him, answered, *that he would never fight for the penal Laws and the Inquisition.*

It was while that Assembly was upon deliberating what to do, that the Confederates arrived in Numbers at Brussels, as abovesaid, and presented their Petition to the Governess, whereby they required chiefly the Inquisition's proceedings should be superseded till the King had answered their Petition.

At first the Governess answered in a way too general, wherewith they were not at all satisfied; and at last she was obliged to promise that the Inquisitors would proceed for the future with all possible lenity in religious Affairs, the Cases of Tumult and Sedition being excepted, and that even in such Cases nothing should be done without the Court's Advice. She promised further to send their Petition to the King, back'd with proper Representations from her upon the matter.

Wherc-

Whereupon the Nobility were more easy, and resolved to separate themselves. But they took proper measures for securing to themselves the Advantages they had procured. They named for that purpose four Persons of their Body, to whom they trusted the general Direction of their Affairs. They named three or four others more in each Province, who were to give notice of every thing to the Directors-General, and to execute the Orders they should receive from them. And they charged them all with the care of preventing all popular Insurrections, and of pressing the Performance of what had been promised unto them. Lastly, they engaged themselves to alter nothing in the Government civil or ecclesiastical, till the King had ordered it in the Assembly of the States.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.



Tho' many of the first Nobility were in the Confederates Company when they presented the said Petition to the Governess, that hindered not the Count of BARLEMONT to call them *BEGGARS*, when willing to remove the Fears which the Governess had of them, he told her, *What do you fear, MADAM, from these Beggars?* The confederated Nobility gloried in that Title, it served as a Mark of Distinction for animating the Party by the Resentment of the Injury. They caused several Medals to be stamp'd, which they hung on their Neck, on one side whereof the King's Effigy was to be seen; and on the reverse was a Bag with this Motto, *FAITHFUL TO THE KING, EVEN TO BEGGARY*: It is said likewise that while they were at *Brussels*, the Lord BREDERODE gave them an Entertainment, where Health to the Beggars was drunk several times in a wooden Cup, and that at every time they repeated these two Verses,

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

„ Par ce Pain, par ce Sel, & par cette Beface,
By this Bread, by this Salt, and by this Bag,
„ Les Gueux ne changeront, pour chose que
l'on fasse.

The Beggars shall not change for any thing.

The Marquis of BERGUE and the Baron of MONTIGNY were sent into *Spain*, for presenting to the King the said Petition, and a Scheme that had been drawn for answering the Expectation of the People. But the Reformed acquainted with the pernicious Designs of the Court, and seeing themselves threatened with an utter Destruction, if they did not make a Show of their Number, began on a sudden to meet together in publick; in some places they appeared to the number of seven thousand, in some others to that of fifteen thousand. The Governess thinking to repress them by some Act of Severity, increased their Number. The Insurrection of *Antwerp* would have proved of worse consequence than it did at this time, had it not been for the Prince of Orange, Governour of that City, who was sent thither by the Duchess of Parma for quelling the Sedition.

About the middle of July the Nobility met together at *St. Tron*, in the Diocese of *Liege*, according to their own Appointment; being assembled to the number of about two thousand, they considered what they were to do, in case they were declared Rebels by the King, and what new measures they ought to take for the Affairs of Religion. The Governess deputed unto them the Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmont, in order to bring them to a Conference, whereto the Confederates having consented, nothing material was done, only the Princess promised unto them that their Remonstrances should be examined

in an Assembly of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, which would be held at *Brussels* on the 29th of August next.

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

King Philip's Answer to the Petition of last April was not at all conformable to what had been expected, and under some appearances of Mildness, his resolutions were as much severe as any of the former.

On the 14th of August began a Sedition in the District of *St. Omer*, where a Mob being got together, out of a false Zeal, or out of Hatred against the Roman Clergy and the Monks, fell to plundering the Convent of the Nuns of *Wolverghen*; they broke the Images to pieces, and took away whatever served to superstitious Use, or could gratify their Greediness. Their Success raised up their Courage, and of those like them, almost in an instant the *Iconoclastical* Spirit spread itself throughout most part of the Provinces, and in three days time plundered above four hundred Churches. That Fury was blamed and condemned by every sober Man, as quite contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. Some were of opinion that these Tumults had been excited under-hand by the Nobility, in order to oblige the Governess to grant them better Terms: if that is true, they succeeded to their Wishes. For in the Assembly of the 24th of August held at *Brussels*, she promised to abolish the Inquisition; to settle the Affairs of Religion to the Satisfaction of every one; to assemble without delay the General States, or at least to solicit the King for the Convocation of that Assembly; to molest no body for whatever had been done in consequence of the Union of the Nobles. Such were the Articles promised on the Governess's side. The Nobility promised on their own, to return to their Allegiance; to do their utmost to engage others to do the same; to

put

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

put a stop to the Abuses done to the Clergy ; to hinder the plundering and prophanation of the Churches ; not to suffer the Reformed to seize upon any more Churches ; and to do what they could that their Assemblies should not be tumultuary : Lastly, on both sides they engaged reciprocally to lay down their Arms.

That Treaty was not kept on either side ; the Nobles excused themselves oftentimes on account of the breach of the Articles, and they were in the right ; when they parted, they had expressly stipulated amongst themselves, that their Union ought to be deemed as subsisting yet, if any breach was made to the abovesaid Treaty.

Very likely they suspected that it would not be long before their Enemies would break their word ; and that Suspicion proved to be well grounded, being confirmed by a Letter intercepted, which was brought to the Prince of Orange. It was written by FRANCIS ALAVA, Minister of Spain at the Court of France, and directed to the Governess. It was said in it, that

„ the junctures of times were the most favourable for executing the Design of settling an arbitrary Government in the Low Countries.

„ Which Design the present King and his Predecessors had had always in view ; that for succeeding in it, nothing more was requisite than

„ to know how to flatter, and to threaten *à propos* ; that they ought to copy after the Example of the Prince of Orange, the Counts of Egmont

„ and Horn, to dissemble as they did, to flatter them ; but that the King would treat them

„ very soon as they deserved ; that he had not forgotten that they were the three Chiefs of the

„ Sedition ; and that he had made an Oath to revenge upon them the Affronts he had received

„ in the Low Countries, and to revenge himself

„ in

„ in such a manner that all Europe would be
 „ frightened at it.”

Charles
 IX.
 1566.
 Pope Pius
 V.

The Prince of Orange did not fail to impart that Letter to his Friends; being assembled at *Dendermonde* at his own Appointment, they conferred together about it, and considered likewise the Advices which they had received from Spain. They weighed the Matter for six Hours together, but could not come to any tolerable Conclusion, only they resolved to behave themselves in such a manner that their Enemies could have no just Occasion of doing any harm unto them, and so they parted.

The Governess having gathered some Troops sent them to *Valenciennes*, under the Command of the Lord ST. ALDEGONDE, Baron of *Norkermes*, with Orders to the Inhabitants to receive a Garrison into their City; whereto having refused to submit, it was besieged, and obliged at last to surrender at discretion, upon a promise however, that they should be treated with lenity; that lenity was such as could be expected from a Catholick Prince, a Bigot, and a Man irritated; the Cruelties put in use against the Inhabitants of what condition soever, cannot be represented; the Governor of the City and his Children perished in it, the Elders and Deacons of the Church, and some of the chief Members thereof were put to death, the Assemblies were interdicted, and the two Ministers condemned to be hanged, and executed. It was said then, *that the Duchess of Parma had found at Valenciennes the Keys of all the other Cities*; and it was true, for *Cambray, Hasselt, Maseik, and Maestrich* surrendered themselves, as well as *Bois-le-Duc*. The surrender of *Valenciennes* happened on the latter end of December 1566.

In

Charles
IX.
1566.
Pope Pius
V.

In Spain the Council was divided between two Opinions; and Philip followed that of the Duke of Alva, as the most agreeable to his unmerciful and proud Temper, viz. to make use of the utmost Severity for repressing these Tumults, and not to receive the Inhabitants of these Provinces to any Mercy, till they had submitted all their Privileges, Goods, and Life, to the King's Discretion. Accordingly having feigned for three Months as if he had a mind to go himself into the Low Countries, he sent thither the Duke of Alva with Orders to execute the bloody Resolution whereof he was the Author.

He went thro' *Savoy, Bressia*, the County of *Burgundy* and *Lorraine*, with the Troops of the *Milanese*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Being still in Italy, he sent word to the Queen-Mother to arm on her side for exterminating the HUGONOTS, while he would do the same with the BEGGARS in the Low Countries.

Before he set out from Spain the Marquis of Bergue and the Baron of Montigny, the two Deputies of the Low Countries, had been arrested; the first died in Prison with Grief, or with Poison; the second was beheaded; nevertheless both were Catholics. Which shewed forth that the Council of Spain was as much, if not more, intent to deprive these Countries of their Privileges and Liberties, as to the Extirpation of Heresy (*f*).

XXXVIII.
The Queen-Mother makes great Preparations for oppressing the Reformed.

However, it is certain, that the Duke of Alva's Army occasioned the breaking out of the second Civil War, for the Queen-Mother on pre-

(*f*) What I have said in this long but necessary Digression concerning the Reformation of the Low Countries, is abstracted out of the Abridgement of Brandt's History, but compared with THUANI Hist. lib. XL, XLI. METEREN Hist. Belgica, lib. I. II, III. PETIT Chron. Anc. & Mod. de Hollande, Zelande, &c. Tom. II. Lib. ix.

pretence of putting the Frontiers of the Kingdom in a state of Defence, in case the Duke of Alva should attempt any thing in his way, sent Orders to the Governours of the Provinces to assemble the Companies of Ordnance, and to raise some new ones; besides that, he sent for six thousand Men out of Switzerland.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

I don't know from whence *Castelnau* had learned that all these Levies were made by the Advice and Counsel of the Prince of Condé, and of the Admiral; *Thuanus*, *D'Aubigné*, *D'Avila*, nor *La Nouë* say not a word of such Advice; contrarywise they say, that these Levies gave them great Suspicions that some ill Design was hatching at Court against them, and the noble Historian above-mentioned acknowledges so much himself three or four Lines after; *Notwithstanding that*, says he, *they took great Jealousies and Mistrusts lest that Army of the Duke of Alva should come into the Low Countries, and the six thousand Switzers, levied by the King's Command, should fall upon their Backs.* If the Prince and the Admiral had advised these Levies, how could they be frighten'd at them, since the King would have done nothing in that regard but by their Counsel (g)?

D'Avila tells us, that the Queen took the opportunity of *Alva's* passage thro' the Frontiers for raising the Troops above-mentioned, to execute the Scheme agreed on between the two Crowns of France and Spain, (*for the Extirpation of the Reformed of France and the Low Countries, of which Scheme she said Alva was the Author.*) He says further, that the King of France dissembled as much as possible his real Sentiments, and his Designs, waiting for the arrival of the Switzers; that the Queen-Mother likewise en-

VOL. III.

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deavoured

(g) *Memoirs de Castelnau*, liv. VI. ch. ii.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

deavoured to conceal from the Reformed what she intended to do, and the Plot laid against them; that for that end she made use of the publick Fame that King Philip was coming into the Low Countries; she added much of her own to that Tale, as if she had been very sorry for it, and as if she thought that such a Journey was intended for some greater Design; and so she perswaded the most part, that all these Preparations of War which she made, were only upon that account.

And in order to render the thing more likely, she summoned to Court several Lords, and she held an Assembly, whereto she had invited several Lords of the Reformed Religion. There it was proposed not only to be upon the Defensive, but to act Offensively against the Spaniards, in case their King should come into the Low Countries with some ill Design. Nay, it was unanimously resolved to send the young L'Aubespine Express to *Madrid*, either to dissuade the King of Spain from his intended Journey into the Low Countries, or to dive into the Design of it; but all this was a Sham. The Queen went further, for lest Philip, for want of being thoroughly informed of every thing, should disclose the Mystery one way or another, she sent Post to him Father HUGUES, a Franciscan Fryar, who having imparted to the King the Resolutions of the Court of France, they agreed together that in order to impose the more easily upon the Reformed of France, he would receive very indifferently L'Aubespine. That was done, and Philip refused Audience for some Weeks to the said Embassador, and when he was admitted, he received him with an apparent Coolness, as if he made no account of his Master: In all other occurrences he told the Envoy that he mistrusted the King and the Queen.

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In France the Court made outwardly great Complaints against the King of Spain, and took great care to have it published every where, that they would very soon declare War against Spain. In short, that Dissembling went so far, that the Pope was deceived by it, and thinking that they were in earnest, he sent a Nuncio to the Queen-Mother, with Orders to remonstrate to his Majesty, that the King of Spain had attempted nothing against her Son; and therefore that there was no occasion of raising so many Troops, and making so many Preparations of War. The Queen answered with such ambiguous words, that it was impossible to dive into her true Design. However she told the Nuncio, that she did not trust much to the King of Spain, having so many reasons of Complaint against him, since he had not answered to her sincere Affection, and to the care she had taken to hinder her Son's Subjects from assisting the Rebels of the Low Countries; that nevertheless she declared that the King her Son would not resolve upon a War, unless he should be provoked to it. But for all that she could say, the Pope was not satisfied at all, and he was not alone deceived by these outward Demonstrations; for the Prince of Condé thinking that it was in earnest, desired the King to improve this opportunity for declaring War against Spain, offering for that purpose a great number of French Reformed; which Offer much displeased the King, who could not bear that any other should have more Credit and Authority amongst and over his own Subjects, than himself. Therefore tho' the Queen intreated him always to dissemble, and that the Catholick Lords at Court did the same, nevertheless he could not forbear shewing his Resentment to the Prince

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

in the private Discourses they had together (b). This is the full Account of that Intrigue given by D'Avila, whereby it is evident, 1. That a Treaty was really concluded between France and Spain for destroying the Reformed; at least, the Chiefs of them, and then oblige the rest to conform themselves to the Will of their King. 2. That in order to execute that Plot, the Queen, making use of a Dissimulation of the deepest dye, caressed the Reformed, feigned to them that she was much afraid of the King of Spain's Designs; and all that for having a fair pretence for raising Troops within and without the Kingdom, and be in a condition of surprising the Reformed unawares. 3. That the Prince had no hand at all in the raising of the 6000 Switzers, seeing the Orders had been given for it by the Queen-Mother, before she assembled the Lords to consult them upon that imaginary Emergency.

XXXIX.
*Several
Occurrences
of this
Year.*

The Duke of Alva's March through Savoy obliged the City of Geneva to put themselves in a posture of Defence. EMANUEL PHILIBERT, Duke of Savoy, willing to improve that opportunity of making himself Master of that City, levied a great Number of Soldiers, which being known in France, the Prince of Condé sent some Officers and Troops to relieve that place. But Alva, acquainted with the condition it was in, and that he could not surprize it, refused to attack it, and continued his March (j).

About this time the Protestant Princes of Germany sent a solemn Embassy to King Charles, requiring that he would deal with more Equity and Justice with his Reformed Subjects, and not
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(b) D'Avila Hist. des Guerres Civiles, liv. IV. p. 164—
167.

(j) Sponde Hist. de Geneve, liv. III. p. 46, 47.

to persecute them, and to allow a Church and some Ministers to those of *Paris*. But the King understanding that they had had some private Conferences with the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, even before they had presented their Credentials, received them very coldly, and answered, that he would be always ready to cultivate a Friendship with the Princes their Masters, if they would cease to interfere with the Affairs of his Kingdom; and that he would grant their Demands, if at the same time they would allow to the Catholics the free Exercise of their Religion in their own Dominions, and let the Priests say Mass therein.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

It is said, that about this time the Constable of Montmorency desiring to resign his Office in behalf of his Son the Marshal Duke of Montmorency, and having been refused, the Prince of Condé asked that place for himself, with the consent of the Constable, and that the King and the Queen his Mother being puzzled at this, in order to be rid of the Prince's Importunities, bid the Duke of Anjou to ask the Lieutenancy-General of the Kingdom for himself, if the Constable's old Age obliged him to leave the Court.

That young Prince not yet sixteen Years old, being present when the Prince of Condé renewed his Petition, waited not till the King had answered, but replied in a Passion, (as he had been taught before by the Queen his Mother) that his Majesty having promised to make him his Lieutenant-General, he ought not to suffer that another should presume to ask the Command of his Armies (*i*).

But Brantome relates this passage otherwise, which is not at all likely; he says, that the Queen being at Supper at *St. Germain des Prez*,

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(*i*) D'Avila, liv. IV. p. 167.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

the Prince of Condé was there; that the Duke of Anjou took him aside, and left him uncovered, and spoke to him with great Heat and Passion, concerning the boldness he had to aspire to a Dignity which belong'd to himself, and which no body could presume to dispute with him; and that at last he threatened him, that if ever he had any thought about it, he would make him repent of it, *and make him as little and low a Companion as he would feign to appear great.* Though Brantome says, that he was present in the same Room, when the words were spoken, I must beg his pardon for my not believing him; it is not at all likely that a Youth like the Duke of Anjou, who was a Subject as well as the Prince, should have offered such abusive Language to a Prince of the Blood, of the Age, Capacity and Credit, as the Prince of Condé was; as much a Darling as he was of the Queen his Mother, she would never have suffered such an Affront to be put upon the Prince, whom she had Interest to manage still, because the Pear was not full ripe as yet. D'Avila's Account is much more likely. A little after the Prince left the Court, the Admiral and D'Andelot his Brother did the same.

About the beginning of June the Reformed attempted to seize upon Metz, MONTBRUN was Chief of that Enterprize: he had counterfeited an Order from the King, to the Governour of that place, for sending away the Troops that were in Garrison in it, and to receive some which were supposed to come from Piedmont. But the Marshal of Vieilleville was so strict in the Questions he asked, to the Officers of these Troops, that the Cheat being discovered, they miscarried in their Attempt.

XLb.
*The sixth
National
Synod.*

The sixth National Synod of the Reformed Churches was held at *Vertueil* in *Angoumois*, and be-

began its Sessions on the first of September, Mr. De Lestre being Moderator.

Charles
IX.

1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Amongst the several Regulations made in this Synod the following are to be noted. Excommunicated Persons and Infidels were not permitted to marry without a previous Penance done in publick. Nothing besides the Holy Scripture should be read in the Church. The Bread was not to be given in the Lord's Supper to them who refused to receive the Cup. A Minister charged with having left his Church, shall be obliged to appear before the Synod of his Province at the first Summons, there to give an Account of his Conduct; and if he is not guilty, the Charges of his Journey shall be borne by the Church who had accused him. A Woman could not be compelled to cohabit with her Husband attacked with Leprosy. The Church, or the Province wherein that Church lies, was obliged to provide for the Maintenance of the Minister's Widow and Children.

Several Orders and Decrees concerning Marriages were received by this Synod, which had been drawn up before by John Calvin (*k*).

The first Query moved about it, was, Who are those that cannot marry without first having asked and obtained leave of their Parents or Guardians?

Answer. All those of both Sexes who have never been married before, and have not as yet attained the Age prescribed by Law; twenty Years for young Men, and eighteen for Girls in France: and though they are come to that Age, then they are in duty bound to ask leave, either by

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them-

(*k*) Quick and Aymon mistook grossly, when they said that the following Decrees had been drawn by Calvin *at the request of the Fathers of the Synod of Vertueil*, for Calvin was dead since the 27th of May 1564. Therefore he could not write in September 1567.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

themselves, or by some other; and if their Parents should make no account of their Request, then they may proceed, and marry without their Consent. The same Rule shall be observed as to the Pupils and Orphans, who are under the Authority of their Trustees and Guardians. Mothers nor Guardians shall not dispose at their own Will and Pleasure, of their Children or Pupils, for marrying them, without the Advice of their Relations or Kindred, if they have any.

In case two young Persons under Age should rashly contract Marriage together, without the consent of their Parents or Guardians, they shall be punished for it, and the said Contract shall be rescinded, and the Marriage declared void, at the request of the said Parents or Guardians. And if they have been inticed to it by some Man or Woman, the Inticer, Man or Woman, shall be prosecuted by the Parents or Guardians, and obliged to acknowledge their Crime before the Magistrate, and to beg pardon, and be punished with fasting for three days together, feeding only upon a small quantity of Bread and Water. The Witnesses who have consented to such Marriages shall be likewise punished with fasting a whole day, upon a small quantity of Bread and Water.

Let the Promises made between two young Persons who are not of Age, be always conditional, and before two Witnesses, or else they shall be deemed void and null.

When young Persons come to the Age required by the Law shall marry without the consent of their Parents or Guardians; let the Magistrate take cognizance of the Matter: and if the Parents have refused to interfere with it, or if they have been too severe towards them, and so have obliged their Children to act as the Law directs, then and in such Case let the Parents be

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compelled to give them a Portion, or to settle them in such a way and condition, that they might live in the World as if they had given their consent unto the Marriage of their Children.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Parents shall not constrain their Children to marry against their Will : And in case a Son or a Daughter should refuse the Party offered them by their Father, let that refusal be expressed with all Modesty and filial Reverence ; and let them not be punished for this their refusal. The same thing shall be observed as to those who are under Guardians.

Parents or Guardians shall not be allowed to engage their Children or Pupils for Marriage, till such time as they are come to Age capable of ratifying the said Engagement. However, if a Child who is not of Age, having refused to marry a Person of his Father's choice, should a little while after marry another, who is less advantageous, the Father shall not be obliged to give any thing, during his Life, unto that disobedient Child.

The second Query. Who are the Persons that may marry without leave ?

Answer. Such as having been once married, be they Men or Women, tho' their Parents be living, provided they be of Age ; as it has been declared in the first Article, twenty Years for a Widower, and eighteen for a Widow : provided likewise that they have been emancipated, and that they kept House by themselves apart. Yet it would be always more decent for Children to do nothing in that respect without the Advice of their Parents.

Let all Promises of Marriage be made decently, and in the fear of God, not in Dissolution, nor lightly over a Bottle of Wine, but with all possible

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

ble Serioufness, after they have well considered of it, and are perfectly resolved about it; and in case any one should do otherwise, let them be corrected. And in case the Minister declares that he has been surpris'd, let the Marriage be dissolved.

If a Man should sue a Woman at Law, alledging, that she has promised to marry him, unless there be two Witnesses, Persons of Credit and Probity to attest it, the Defendress shall be put upon her Oath, and if she denies the said Promise, she shall be absolved.

The third Query. For what Causes a Marriage-promise may and ought to be rescinded?

Answer. There are two Cases wherein such Promises may be rescinded, when made betwixt Persons capable of them. 1. When upon good Evidence it shall appear that the Girl is not a Virgin, and that before the Marriage she was taken to be a Virgin, and she declared herself to be such. 2. When one of the Parties is utterly unfit for Generation. But the non-payment of a Dowry or Portion, or Wedding-Clothes, cannot be a reason for hindering the performance of Marriage-promises, because such things are not of the Essence, but Accidents, and Accessories unto Marriage.

The fourth Query. What distance of time is there to be observed between the promise of Marriage and its performance?

Answer. Not above six Weeks after the promise is made. And in case the Parties should delay beyond that time, they shall be summoned before the Consistory, and be admonished to fulfil the Marriage; and if they prove disobedient, they shall be deliver'd over to the Magistrate, who may compel them to the performance.

In case the Marriage should be opposed, the Minister shall refer the opposing Party to the

Con-

Consistory. Nevertheless no opposition shall be admitted, unless the Opponent should live in the same place, or be a Person well known, or that he brings with him some Person well known to testify to his Character, lest an honest Maid should suffer in her Reputation.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

If the Opponent do not appear at the appointed day, the Banns shall be published without any further delay, as if there had been no opposition; for preventing and avoiding thereby all manner of Frauds, which might be committed in this Matter.

Let no Foreigner coming from a far distant Country be admitted unto Marriage, unless he brings with him good Certificates, or undoubted Letters of Credence, or that he have a Testimony from Persons of an undoubted Character, who certify that he is not married elsewhere.

The fifth Query. What is to be done before the Celebration of Marriage?

Answer. Let the Banns be published on three several Sundays in the Church before the Marriage be solemnized; and let the first Magistrate give it under his hand, that he knows both the Parties, so that immediately after the third Publication, the Marriage may be then celebrated. If one of the Parties belongs to another Parish, let him bring a Certificate from that Parish he belongs to.

Let not the Betrothed cohabit together as Man and Wife till such time as they shall be solemnly married in the Church. If they do otherwise, let them be imprisoned for three days, and feed upon Bread and Water only; then they shall appear before the Consistory, where they shall be convicted of their Sin, that they may be ashamed of it, and humble before God.

The

Charles
IX.1567.
Pope Pius
V.*The sixth Query.* How is the Marriage to be celebrated ?

Answer. Let the Persons to be married come modestly to the Church, without Drums or Minstrels, demeaning themselves orderly and gravely as becometh Christians, and let them come before the Bell hath done tolling, that so the Marriage may be solemnly blessed before the Sermon ; but if they are negligent, and come too late, they shall be sent back unmarried.

It shall be lawful to celebrate Marriages on any day of the Week, provided there be a Sermon, or upon the Lord's day by Nine in the Morning ; the days when the Lord's Supper shall be administred only excepted, that so there may be no distraction, and that every one may the better prepare himself for receiving.

The seventh Query. About the Man's dwelling with his Wife.

Answer. Let the Man and his Wife cohabit together in one and the same House, having all things in common between them. And if either of them separate from the other to live apart, let the Party that separates himself be summoned to appear before the Consistory, that he or she may be convicted of their Sin ; and in case of Quarrels or Differences betwixt them, let them be made up, and sent home reconciled one with the other.

The eighth Query. What are the Degrees of Consanguinity forbidden in Marriage ?

Answer. No Marriage can be contracted in direct line between a Father and his Daughter, or the Mother and her Son, nor any other of their Descendants ; because that is destructive of natural Modesty and Piety, and is expressly forbidden by the Laws of God, and the civil Laws.

In like manner an Uncle cannot marry his Niece or Grand-Niece, nor the Aunt her Nephew

phew or Grand-Nephew; *because an Uncle represents the Father, and an Aunt the Mother.*

Charles IX.

1567.

Pope Pius V.

Nor can a Brother marry his Sister, or even Half-Sister. As for those other degrees, tho' they are not forbidden neither by the Law of God, nor by the civil Law of the *Romans*; yet because such Marriages have not for many Years been in use, (*at Geneva he means*) and for shunning the Scandal which ignorant Persons might take at it, let not *first Cousins* contract Marriage together, till such a time that a better opinion concerning these Marriages shall prevail amongst us. As for Intermarriages in other degrees, let them not be hindered.

The ninth Query. What are those degrees of Affinity forbidden in Marriage?

Answer. A Father shall not marry his own Son's Widow, nor a Mother her own Daughter's Widower, and so in the degrees descending in a direct Line.

A Man shall not marry his Wife's Daughter, nor a Woman her Husband's Son, and so in the degrees descending in a direct Line.

A Man shall not marry his own Nephew's Widow, or the Widow of his Grand-Nephew.

A Man shall not marry his Brother's Widow, nor a Woman her Sister's Widower.

A Man having committed Adultery with his Neighbour's Wife, if it be afterwards discovered, he shall not marry the Adulteress, in case she became a Widow, because of the Scandals and Dangers that will ensue upon such a Marriage.

The tenth Query. What is to be done in case of Discords, Variance and Contentions between married Persons?

Answer. In case a Man doth not live peaceably with his Wife, but that there be Strifes, Jealousies and Quarrels betwixt them, they shall be summoned before the Consistory, and be admonished to live in

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

a godly Concord, Union, and Love together ; and each of them shall be reprov'd for their Faults, as the Case shall require.

If a Man uses his Wife ill, beating and tormenting her, if he threatens her with some great Mischief, and that it should be known that he is a disorderly Fellow, he shall be turned over to the Magistrate, who will be most humbly intreated to interpose his Authority, and to forbid him most expressly, upon some penalty, to abuse his Wife any more.

The eleventh Query. For what Causes may a Marriage be declared null ?

Answer. In case a Woman should complain that her Husband is *bewitch'd*, (NOTA BENE) or naturally Impotent, and that by his own Confession, or upon his being searched, it should be found true, the Marriage shall be declared void, and the Woman shall be separated from her Husband, and he strictly forbidden not to deceive any other Woman for the future.

If a Man should make the same Complaint of his Wife, that she hath some bodily Defect which hinders the Cohabitation, and that she refuses to be cured ; the Matter of the Complaint being proved true, the Marriage shall be declared null.

The twelfth Query. For what Causes a Marriage can be dissolved ?

If a Man charges his Wife with Adultery, and proves it by irrefragable Evidences, and requires to be separated from her, he shall be divorced, and be at liberty to marry with whom he best pleaseth. However, he may be exhorted to forgive his said Wife ; but not urged to it with too great Importunity ; much less shall he be compelled in any wise to keep her.

'Tho' in ancient times the Privilege of a Wife was not equal to that of her Husband, in case
of

of Divorce ; yet forasmuch as the Apostle says (1), that the Obligation is mutual and reciprocal as to Bed and Board, and that in neither of these the Wife is more subject to her Husband, than he is to her ; therefore, if a Man is convicted of Adultery, and his Wife demands to be separated from him, she shall be divorced, unless she can be prevailed on by godly Advices to be reconciled to him. Nevertheless, in case the Wife should be found to have committed Adultery through a meer suspicion of her Husband being in the fault, or the Husband of his Wife, so as both should be guilty ; or in case it should appear, by their dealings, that they have a mind to be separated, they shall not be hearkened to in either of these cases. (IF ANY ONE REFUSES TO GIVE HIS ASSENT TO THIS DECISION, AND DEEM IT NOT ONLY ABSURD, BUT EVEN CONTRARY TO DIVINE AND HUMAN LAWS, I WILL NOT GAINSAY, NOR UNDERTAKE THE DEFENCE OF IT).

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

If a Man undertakes a long Journey either upon his Trade or Traffick, or any other business, and that he is not a Debauchée, nor alienated in his Affections from his Wife, and that he be absent for a very long time, without being known what is become of him, only there are some probable Conjectures that he is dead ; for all that his Wife shall not be allowed to marry again till the term of ten Years be expired, reckoning from the day of his setting out, unless there should be certain Evidences of his death. And yet notwithstanding this Licence should be granted her at the end of ten Years, if there is any Suspicion, or News, or other Indications, that this Man has been detained Prisoner, or that he has been hindered

(1) (*It is but an inference, which is not sufficient for building a Law so contrary to the Uses of all the World at all times*).

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

dered by some other means from returning home, the said Woman shall live as a Widow, till a greater light can be had in that Affair.

If a Man through Debauchery, or some other evil Affection should forsake the place of his Abode, his Wife shall inquire diligently after him, and where he is to be found; and then she shall ask a Warrant from the Magistrate to recal him, or to constrain him to return, or at least to give him Notice, that unless he would return home unto his Family, he will be proceeded against in his Absence. And this being done, tho' there be no possible means to compel him to return, nevertheless, he shall be prosecuted, and a Proclamation shall be read on three Sundays, (a Fortnight intervening betwixt each Proclamation) the same Proclamation shall be read likewise in the Lieutenant's Court, and it shall be notified unto two or three of his nearest Friends and Relations, (if he hath any) that in case he do not appear, his Wife shall be at liberty to make her Address unto the Consistory, and sue for a Separation, which shall be granted her; and for that end she shall be directed to the Magistrate, and that Person who shall have rebelled in this manner, shall be banished for ever out of the City and its Territories. But if he doth return within the prescribed time, all Endeavours shall be used to reconcile him to his Wife.

A Man of a roving Temper that uses to forsake his Wife, and to wander up and down the Country, shall be imprisoned for the second Offence of this kind, and fed upon Bread and Water only; upon the third Offence he shall be punished with the utmost rigour, and if he does not amend, his Wife shall be divorced from him.

A Debauchée, who, without any Provocation, forsakes his Wife, the said Wife, upon a full Evidence of the Truth of her Complaints, shall be admonished to inquire diligently after her Husband, his Friends and Relations shall be summoned to give what account they know of him. The said Wife shall wait for him a full Year, and if she cannot hear any thing of him, she shall make her Address to the Consistory, which having well considered the Matter, if it is found that she has good reasons for being married again, after an Exhortation, she shall be directed to the civil Magistrate; she shall be put upon her Oath, that she knows not whether her Husband is gone, nor what is become of him. The same Oath shall be tendered to his Friends and Relations, and then the Magistrate shall proceed to cause the three Proclamations above-mentioned to be read publickly, and the Woman shall be at liberty to marry again; and if it happens that the Absentee should return again, he shall receive the deserved Punishment.

If a Woman elopes from her Husband, and lives elsewhere from him, and the said Husband desires to be divorced from her, and be at liberty to marry another, let it be first considered, whether she is in such a place where a Warrant might be served on her, or at least whether Notice could be given her to appear and answer to her Husband's Suit, and the said Warrants and Letters shall be delivered to her Husband for that purpose. Then the abovesaid Proclamations shall be read, her Friends and Relations having been first called, and charged to admonish her to return. If she appears within the Term, and her Husband refuses to receive her, suspecting that she has been unfaithful to him during her Absence, tho' it is a very scandalous thing for a Woman to elope from

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

her Husband, yet Endeavours shall be made to engage her Husband to forgive her Folly: But if he withstands all Intreaties, then Inquiries shall be made in the places she has haunted, and how she has behaved herself; and if there is no Proof or Indication of any ill Behaviour, and Unfaithfulness to her Husband's bed, then the Husband shall be compelled to receive her, and be reconciled to her: But if on the contrary there is some Suspicion well grounded, that she has not been faithful, if she has been found in lewd Companies, or been heard talking without any regard to Modesty, then her Husband's Suit shall be granted, as it is but just and reasonable. But if she do not appear within the prescribed time, then it shall be proceeded against her in the same manner as it has been directed in the foregoing Articles, against a Husband guilty of the like fault.

If a Man, having made a Promise of Marriage unto a Maid or a Widow, goes into another Country, and the Maid or Widow complains of it, craving to be discharged from her Promise because of his Disloyalty, it shall be inquired upon what Occasion he has left the place, whether it be for a lawful Subject, whether he had done it with the consent of his Betrothed; or whether out of Debauchery, being unwilling to perform, his Promise. If it appears that he had done it without any good reason, and only out of a wicked Design, the place of his Abode must be known if possible, and how to give him Notice to return within a certain day, and perform his Promise; and if upon Notice given he does not appear, then the abovesaid Proclamations shall be read, after which the Maid or Widow shall be declared free from all Engagement with him, and he shall be banished for his Disloyalty. But if he does appear within the prescribed time, he shall

shall be compelled to perform his Promise out of hand. But if there is any just Cause for his Absence, and he hath advised and acquainted his Betrothed with it, then the Maid or Widow shall use all possible diligence by herself and his Friends to induce him to return; and if he does not comply within a Year, then let Proclamations be made as above directed.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

And the same Course shall be followed as to Maids or Widows, who shall offend as the Men; with this difference only, that a Man shall not be obliged to wait a full Year, altho' the Maid or Widow has absented with his Knowledge and Consent, unless he had given her leave for being so long time abroad.

If a Maid, being duly tied by Promise of Marriage, is fraudulently carried away out of the Territories of this Republick, that she might not accomplish the Marriage, it shall be inquired, whether some one or other in the City hath not assisted in this taking away, that they might be compelled to restore her, upon such a penalty as shall be judged meet; and if she be under Guardians and Trustees, they likewise shall be enjoined to make all possible Search, that she may be found again.

If a married Woman hath eloped from her Husband, and he makes no Complaint of it, or if a Woman being forsaken by her Husband, dissembles it, if this afterwards comes to the Knowledge of the Publick, they shall be both, or either of them summoned to appear before the Consistory, there to give an Account how the Matter stands, that so all Scandal might be prevented, and that no Deceit or Collusion might be tolerated, or, what is worse, winked at; and the most proper means shall be made use of, to prevent those wilful Divorces which a Husband and a Wife would make of their own Accord,

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

without the Authority of the Magistrate, and the Woman shall be obliged to follow her Husband at his request, when and whither he shall be pleased to go and settle himself, either if it should be of his own Choice, or constrained to it by some Necessity : provided that the Man should not be a Debauchée, who will carry her away out of a Frolick into some foreign and unknown Country. But if he don't go into a Country too far distant, to follow his Calling, then his Wife shall be obliged to follow him.

All matrimonial Matters concerning the Union of Persons are to be first transacted in the Consistory, but not Matters concerning Estate and Dowry ; and in all the Transactions there shall be a friendly and sincere Agreement between the Parties. But if there is any occasion for a Sentence from the Judge, then let the Parties concerned direct themselves to the Magistrate, who having been rightly informed by the Consistory, shall pronounce a final Sentence.

Done and concluded at Vertueil on the 7th of September 1567, and signed in the Name of all the Deputies, by

Mr. DE LESTRE, Moderator.

I make no doubt but that many of my Readers will think something strange that the great CALVIN should go so far upon a Matter, which, for the most part, is of a civil Concern, and as such, belongs properly to the civil Government, and that he has ascribed such a great Authority to the Consistories : But what is still more surprising is, that a National Synod in the Kingdom of France hath adopted his Decisions upon that Matter to be a Rule whereby the Reformed Churches were to be governed in that respect.

It

It may be, that before Calvin, there were no Laws to decide many particular Cases concerning Marriages at *Geneva*, and that it was necessary there should be some: It may be that that Great Man was desired by the Magistracy of that City to make some Regulations upon that Matter, which were afterwards approved of by them. But I don't see how the Reformed Churches of France could do the same, or to receive amongst their Canons what had been done at Geneva upon that Subject: there were Laws enough in the Kingdom, sufficient to decide the most material Points upon Marriages, and what was added by these Decrees of Geneva, was only, for the most part, an Ineroachment upon People's Liberty. Therefore they were obliged in the next Synod held at *La Rochelle* about four Years after, to alter several things in these Decrees, and to submit them in general to the Laws of the Kingdom: But let this be said by the way.

Charles IX.
1567.
Pope Pius V.

Now every thing tended to a Rupture in the Kingdom; the Edict of Amboise far from being observed, had been almost made void, by the Restrictions, Explanations, &c. of the subsequent Edicts: The Reformed had the greatest Injustices, and the most barbarous Usages to undergo in every place where the Catholicks were the strongest; their Grievances far from being redressed, when complained of, were laughed at at Court; and oftentimes their Deputies were sent to Prison for their Trouble: The Cardinal of Lorrain and his House bore the Sway at Court, where their Credit was as great as ever: The Prince and the Admiral's Advices were scorned by the King and his Council: The raising of the six thousand Switzers, that were already entered the Kingdom, and the great Levies of Troops throughout the Provinces: Lastly, the Passage of the

XLI.
Every thing disposed to a Rupture between the two Parties in France.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Duke of Alva with a strong Army, without any opposition; a thing so much contrary to the Rules of good Policy. All these things were a strong Demonstration that the Court of France acted in concert with that of Spain, for working the utter Destruction of their Reformed Subjects. I do not magnify the Objects, the Catholick Historians Castelnau, Thuanus, and D'Avila tell us, that the Court kept no measure at this time, and paid no regard at all to the Remonstrances of the Reformed; that the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, had nothing else in view than to execute the Scheme laid at *Bayonne*, for the Extirpation of Hereticks (*m*).

Now should the Reformed have sat still? ought they to wait patiently till they would come and cut the Throats of about two Millions of People, who desired no better than to live quietly under their King's Protection, and the Benefit of his Edicts? No, to be sure; they could not do it without incurring the Guilt of being as so many Self-Murderers. It is needless to alledge here, the Example of the Christians of the three first Centuries; the case is quite different, and among many other Differences I quote this only. They had no Edicts of the Emperor's, whereby the free Possession of their Religion was granted unto them. Therefore the Reformed in France did nothing but what they were obliged to do, in putting themselves in a posture of Defence; but they went too far, and lost the Merit of that Action by the ways and means which they had chose at first for getting their Grievances redressed, as I shall say presently.

Several

(*m*) Casteln. Mem. liv. VI. ch. II, III. Thuan. Hist. lib. XLII. D'Avila, Tom. I. liv. IV. Addit. aux Mem. de Casteln. Tom. II. liv. VI. ch. iii, iv, v, vi.

Several Conferences had been held since the latter end of July, first at *St. Valery*, and then at *Chatillon*, between the Prince, the Admiral D'Andelot, the Count of La Rochefoucault, and several other Lords and Gentlemen, for advising about the means of preventing their utter Ruin; at first they all assented to the Admiral's opinion, to try every thing before they should make use of extreme Remedies, and take up Arms. But their just Jealousies were increased at several things which occasioned them, and especially because the Duke of Alva being arrived in the Low Countries, the King under several frivolous pretences delayed to dismiss the Switzers (*n*). Besides that, a Letter from a Lord of the Court, who countenanced the Reformed was exhibited, whereby he warned the Prince of Condé, that it had been resolved in the most privy Council, to seize upon him and the Admiral, to keep his Highness under a perpetual Confinement, and to put the Admiral to death; that in the mean time two thousand Switzers were to be admitted into *Paris*, as many in Orleans, and the other two thousand to be sent to Poitiers; which done, the Edicts should be repealed, and others, quite contrary, tending to the utter Extirpation of the Reformed, be published. And what added a greater Authority to that, and obliged them to give credit to it, was, that the Switzers, instead of going back, as the Prince had desired, advanced further and further towards *Paris*.

Charles IX.
1567.
Pope Pius V.

The Lords and Gentlemen of the Prince's Council being incensed at this News, exclaimed, „ How long shall we suffer ourselves to be abused?

M 4

„ Shall
XLII. *The Prince and his Council resolve upon a War.*

(*n*) D'Aubigné says, that when the Constable was intreated by his Nephew to pity the fate of the Kingdom, &c. He answered, *What should we do with those Switzers, who are well paid, if we do not employ them?* Hist. Univ. Tom. I. liv. IV. chap. vii.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

„ Shall we wait till we shall be led triumphant-
 „ ly, Feet and Hands bound, to Paris, and from
 „ thence to the place of Execution, there to feed
 „ the Cruelty of our Enemies with our own
 „ Blood? What do we stay for? We have al-
 „ ready a foreign Enemy in the Kingdom, who
 „ come strait to fall upon us; remembring of
 „ the Battle of *Dreux*, they will revenge upon
 „ us all the Injuries they received then from us
 „ in our just Defence. Have we forgot that so
 „ many thousand Men of our own have perish-
 „ ed by the Wickedness and Treachery of our
 „ Enemies, since the last Edict of Peace; where-
 „ of when we have complained, we have re-
 „ ceived no other Satisfaction or Redress, but
 „ Words and frivolous Answers, and Delays.
 „ At least, if these things were done by the
 „ King's Will and Command, to whom we
 „ owe all Respect and Obedience, may be, we
 „ shall bear with it patiently; but whereas eve-
 „ ry one knows that these things are done either
 „ without his Majesty's Knowledge or Will (o),
 „ by those who abusing the King's Name, hin-
 „ der us from a free access to his Majesty, where-
 „ by, being deprived of his Royal Protection,
 „ we are delivered, as it were, to be a Prey to
 „ our Enemies; shall we bear with such Injuries
 „ at their Hands, and invite them by our Pa-
 „ tience to be more audacious and cruel towards
 „ us? Our Fathers have patiently suffered for
 „ above forty Years the bitterest Pains, the most
 „ exquisite Torments, for Christ's sake, and the
 „ Defence of the Gospel; which same Cause
 „ we defend likewise. And now that not only
 „ Families, and Boroughs, but whole Cities,
 „ „ have

(o) They mistook, Charles had openly declared himself against them, and followed in every thing his Mother's direction.

„ have made an open Confession of their Faith
 „ under the Authority and Protection of two
 „ Royal Edicts, we should be unworthy of the
 „ glorious Titles of Christians and Gentlemen,
 „ should we by our Neglect, or Pusillanimity,
 „ let perish such a vast number of People in
 „ perishing ourselves. Therefore we do be-
 „ seech ye, my Lords, you, who have taken
 „ upon yourselves the Defence of the Common
 „ Cause, to take speedily a good Resolution ;
 „ for that Affair cannot admit of any delay (*p*).”

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

All the Assistants were moved at this Speech, less by the Vivacity of the Expressions than by the Truth of the Matter. However, some were of opinion to delay still, but the Lord D'Andelot carried it for War.

The next Query was how to begin? Some were for seizing in every Province upon as many Cities as possible, but that Scheme was easily refuted by the Inconveniencies wherewith it was attended, as it had been experienced in the first Civil War; for having not Forces enough to keep these Cities, they had lost them almost as soon as they had been Masters of them. Others were for seizing upon Orleans, and then to send to the King their Remonstrances. But that Scheme was easily refuted by the Impossibility of putting it into Execution, because of the Fortress lately built with a Garrison in it.

At last they resolved to take up Arms, and to observe four things at the beginning. First, to seize upon few, but important Cities. Secondly, to raise a brisk Army. Thirdly, to cut to pieces the Switzers, by whose help the Catholics would

(*p*) Thuan. lib. XLII. La Noüe Discours polit. & milit. p. 867, &c. This last Gentleman speaks of three Conferences between the Prince and his Adherents; and of intercepted Letters from Rome and Spain, concerning the Plot against the Protestants.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

would be always Masters of the Field. Fourthly, to endeavour by all means the Expulsion of the Cardinal of Lorraine out of Court, because he was thought to be the Man who solicited the King to destroy his Reformed Subjects.

Very great Difficulties were found in the Execution of the two last Articles. Because the Cardinal and the Switzers were always with the King, and if they attacked these, and endeavoured to frighten the first, it would be said, that they attempted against his Majesty's Person, and not against others. But it was answered, that the Event would show the Truth of their Intention; as it happened in the time of Charles VII, when he was only Dauphine, and had armed not against his Father or the Kingdom, but against the Duke of *Burgundy* the common Enemy of both: That it was very well known that the French Nation had never attempted against their King's Person. Lastly, that if they were successful in this first attempt, it would be the properest means of putting a stop to the civil Divisions and Wars, because they would have an opportunity of declaring unto his Majesty several things which were industriously concealed from him; and thereby obtain the Confirmation of the former Edicts, when those who endeavoured to surprize them should be surprized the first.

LA NOUË, who was present at these Consultations, and out of whose Memoirs I have extracted what I have just now related, observes, that that attempt upon the Court served only to exasperate the King against the Reformed to such a degree, that he never forgave them afterwards. And Montluc says, that it occasioned the Massacre of Bartholomew's-day. And indeed it cannot be denied that having no certainty at all of the Success, they made themselves obnoxious to what-

whatever bad Judgment their Enemies would make concerning their Intention. And being not in a condition to justify that, they minded no Evil against his Majesty or his Mother, for want of Success, whereby they could have satisfied the Publick as to the Sincerity and Uprightness of their said Intention, that want of Success was enough to make them appear guilty of High Treason. And it is needless to say, that they intended only to deprive a Party of the King's Person, the Name and Authority whereof they abused to the Destruction of the State; for tho' that be certainly true, their miscarrying in the Attempt was enough to make them guilty, for the same reason, and because of the bad consequences of such Attempts (q).

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

To be sure they were in the right by all the Laws Divine and Human, to defend themselves against the Violence of their Enemies, and had they seized upon some of the best Cities for that purpose, they could not have been blamed for it. But to assault his own King, to make an attempt upon his sacred Person, a young King! and in the manner as they did, for they could not answer, but that he might have been killed by Chance and against their own Will in the Fray: Indeed we must sincerely acknowledge, that such a rash and desperate Attempt cannot be warranted by any Law either Divine or Human.

But God forbid, that we should charge the Prince, the Admiral or his Brothers, the Count of La Rochefoucault, La Nouë, and the other Chiefs that were present at that Consultation, with any Design of murdering the King or the Queen-Mother, and seizing upon the Kingdom,

as

(q) La Nouë Discours polit. & milit. ch. xxvi. p. 867, &c. Than. lib. XLII. Mem. de Castelnau, liv. VI. ch. iii.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

as Montluc pretends, and that upon very slight Arguments; such as a little Note, inclosed in a Letter without Name, wherein these words were written. *From the 28th to the 30th of September, the King is taken, the Queen murdered, La Rochelle is taken, Montauban is taken, Lestoure is taken, and Montluc is dead.* Very likely this last Article put him in a greater fright than all the rest, especially because of what he had dreamed some Nights before, whereby he says himself, that he was put into such Agonies that his Bed was all soaked with Sweat. He pretends, and that may be true, that he kept Spies even in the Consistories, who sent him Notice of every thing. But the strongest Argument is the Confession of about a hundred and more Witnessess, most of whom were Hugonots, that deposed before the Parliament of *Toulouse*, that the Design of their Chiefs was to murder the Queen-Mother, the King, and his Brethren. But he did not care to let us know that these Confessions were extorted amidst the most cruel Tortures (*r*). And it is what D'Avila has revealed unto us. *Several, says he, have published, (AND THAT WAS DECLARED AMIDST THE CRUEL TORTURES BY SOME GASCOONS, WHOM THE SIEUR MONTLUC CAUSED TO BE TAKEN AND PUT TO DEATH AT SUNDRY TIMES:)* that the principal view of that Attempt was to murder the King, the Queen, and the rest of her Children, that the Prince of Condé might ascend the Throne. BUT SUCH A GREAT INHUMANITY WAS NOT BELIEVED BY EVERY ONE. It is true, that in another place, D'Avila relating a Speech which the Constable made to the Princes, the Knights of the Order, the Captains of Horse, and the Colonels of Foot, assembled in the King's Council, he makes him

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to say, that they ought to employ themselves for the Defence of their own King, against those, who, in order to make one after their own fancy; ENDEAVOUR TO DESTROY THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Charles IX.
1567.
Pope Pius V.

Suppose that these last words could amount to a Charge of High Treason against the Prince and his Adherents, the main point remains always undecided, viz. whether these words have been really uttered by the Constable? Nay, whether the Constable had ever made any such Speech, or any at all in this Occurrence? D'Avila quotes no Authority in his whole History for what he writes; and nevertheless, being arrived at France only under the Reign of Henry the III^d, he could not have been a Witness of what he relates of the foregoing Reigns, therefore he ought to have quoted his Authorities, and as he don't do it, we may judge of this Speech as we have judged in our first Volume of those of the Admiral, which being to be found only in his Book, took, very likely, their Origin in his own Head (s).

Notwithstanding this Justification of the Prince of Condé, as to his Designs in this Attempt, we have seen in our days the JESUIT DANIEL magnifying the Objects above what Montluc has said; and speaking of this Attempt as if it was a Matter of Fact. But how doth he prove it? by these most convincing Arguments.

XLIII.
Daniel censured.

1. That it was not the first time that the Hugonots had framed such an execrable Plot. Several Instances are to be seen in the Duke of Nevers's Memoirs.

2. By a Book which was published about that time, and was ascribed to one ROSIERES, Minister of *Tierache*, wherein, among other damnable Errors, he had asserted, That it was lawful

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(s) D'Avila, Tom. I. lib. IV. p. 168 & 175.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

to murder a King or a Queen, who oppose themselves to the Reformation of the Church.

3. By a long Letter without Name, which the Queen-Mother found in her way, one day, as she was going to Mass, wherein she was threatened, that *she would be served with the same turn as the Guisard, if she did not alter her Manners, and if she did not grant a full Liberty of Conscience to the Reformed.*

4. By Brantome's Testimony, who says, (but without warranting the Truth of it) that the Prince of Condé caused a piece of Silver Money to be coined, with this Inscription; *Lewis XIII. King of France*, and that the Constable shewed it in the Louvre in full Council on the 7th of October 1567. **NOTA BENE.**

Lastly, „ A new Proof of this Fact, says the „ Jesuit, has been found in our days, which „ seems unquestionable. *The Author of the Hi-* „ *storical Treatise of the French Coins*, affirms, „ that being in *London* he saw at a Goldsmith's „ Shop, a Golden Piece, representing on one „ side the Prince of Condé's Head, and on „ the other a French 'Scutcheon, with this „ Inscription, **LUDOVICUS XIII. DEI GRATIA** „ **FRANCORUM REX PRIMUS CHRISTIANUS.** „ That Prince willing to denote by that Title „ of the first Christian King which he assumed, „ that he was the first of the French Kings, „ who had professed the pure Gospel, and the „ Christianity purified of the Roman Church's „ Superstitions: But very likely, adds he, they „ thought proper at Court to feign as if they „ were ignorant of such an Attempt; for it is „ certain that in the Manifesto's or Writs pub- „ lished by the King's Orders, no mention was „ made of it, at least distinctly, and which could „ give

„ give to understand, that the Prince of Condé
 „ had carried things to such an Extremity (t).”

Charles
 IX.
 1567.
 Pope Pius
 V.

Two or three Reflections will be sufficient to confound the Calumniator, and to begin with the Remark whereby he ends his Charge; Can any one in his right Senses imagine, that if there had been the least likelihood that the Prince or his Party had framed such a Plot, the Court would have been silent? what more proper means could the Queen-Mother have found for ruining the Prince and his Party in the Minds of all the foreign Princes, and bereaving them of their Protection and Assistance, than this? And indeed, what Prince, what State, what Society in Europe would have undertaken their Defence, or afforded them any Relief? Was it the Queen of England? But Queen Elizabeth's Wisdom and Politicks did not allow her to countenance such a wicked Attempt, supposing that her Moral and Christian Virtues and Graces had not filled up her Royal and Heroic Soul with a just Abhorrence for such heinous Crimes; she had too much to do at home for preserving herself from the wicked and devilish Attempts of the Jesuits and their Disciples, to be sure she would not have encouraged any such thing abroad. Was it the Emperor? But Maximilian II. filled up the Imperial Throne at that time: The Protestant Princes of Germany were too great Lovers of Justice and Probity; they would have united themselves with the Catholics of France, for punishing severely such a wicked Act, rather than for countenancing it. All the Reformed States of Europe have always expressed the utmost Abhorrence for such Deeds; and some of them began at that time to feel the noisome Influence of the Jesuitical Spirit. No other Society but that

(t) Daniel Hist. de France, Charles IX. 1567, p. 852.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

that of the Jesuits, could have afforded any Help or Relief for executing, or after the Execution of that execrable Crime, had they been so much afraid of Charles IX. and his Mother, as they were of Henry III. and Henry IV. Therefore since it was the true Interest of the Queen-Mother to publish in the most solemn manner that Attempt of the Prince, or of his Party; since having resolved with the King of Spain the utter Destruction of the whole Reformed Body in France, nothing could be more conducive to the Accomplishment of her Designs than to render them odious to all the Potentates of Europe; and since nothing could be more efficacious for that purpose, and deprive them of all assistance, than the publishing of that execrable Plot of the Prince and of his Party; we must infer from the Silence of that Princess, at a time when so many strong Reasons obliged her to speak, either that she heard nothing of that Plot, or that having heard of it, she found it attended with so many Inconsistencies, that not only she judged it improbable, but even that it would cast a Blemish upon her own Reputation, if she opened her Mouth to speak of it. Therefore the Queen's silence must be taken as a moral Demonstration of the falsehood of this Imputation.

As to the other Reasons, wherewith Daniel endeavours to corroborate his Charge, they cannot serve as Ground to entertain as much as a bare Suspicion; he says, that this was not the first Attempt of that kind done by the Reformed: But where is the first? We have seen in the first Vol. when speaking of the Plot of Amboise, that notwithstanding his Falsifications in quoting Castelnau's Memoirs, and Thuanus, he has not been able to make good his Accusation against the Hugonots. I did not see the Duke of Never's Me-

Memoirs, but if I might judge of this Quotation of Father Daniel, by those of Castelnau, Thuanus and Daubigné, which he has not only misrepresented, but falsified too; I dare say, that this Prince has never charged the Prince of Condé his Grand Uncle, with any such base Intent as that of murdering the King and his Brethren in order to ascend the Throne.

Charles IX.
1567.
Pope Pius V.

As to the Book whereof he speaks, and which, he says, was ascribed to Rosieres, a Minister, such a Doctrine as that which he quotes, smells so much of Jesuitism, that one cannot help being tempted to ascribe it to Father GUIGNARD, or VARADE, or JAMES COMMOLÉ, or to some other of the same Tribe, inasmuch, that every one knows that this darling Doctrine of the Jesuits, uttered at sundry times and in several manners with Approbation of their Society, has been universally rejected with the utmost Abhorrence by all the Reformed Churches of *France, England, Holland, Germany and Switserland.* Therefore suppose for a moment that an Enthusiast amongst the Reformed of France, let him be of what rank or condition soever, had asserted such a Devilish Proposition; for God's sake what way of arguing is this? Such a one, a Reformed; a Minister; had advanced such a Proposition, That it was lawful to murder a King, &c. The Prince of Condé, Admiral de Coligny, and others, were Reformed; then they have attempted to murder the King. I might with as much reason argue thus against the Jesuits. Such a one; a Jesuit; named GIRARD, abused his Penitent Miss CADIERE in the most scandalous manner; Father Daniel and others are Jesuits; then they have abused their Penitents in the most scandalous manner. Shall I not be censured as a wicked Calumniator, if before I draw such an Inference

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

I do not evince this Premise, that the Principles of the Jesuits have a natural tendency to indulge their Disciples in all manner of Lewdness and Wickedness? It is the same thing in our case.

As to the pieces of Gold and Silver Coin, whereof one was exhibited in the King's Council in October 1567, and t'other was seen at *London* by Monsieur *Le Blanc*; we must observe that Brantome does not affirm the Fact as to the first: but let it be true as well as the second, what can this prove against the Prince? Those pieces, had they been coined by his Orders, or only his Consent, nay, with his Knowledge; this ought to have been made out, before we charge him with the Crime of High Treason; but not a word of it. We have said in our second Vol. that his Highness had been obliged to erect a Mint at Orleans during the first civil War, that he coined Money there, but with the King's Stamp and Effigy. Now is it improbable that some of the Workmen, either of their own Accord, or bribed by some other inconsiderate Man, or blinded with a false Zeal, had coined a certain number of such Pieces in secret? This is certainly more likely, than that the Prince had any hand in it, and that the King and the whole Council had overlook'd it, so far, as not to make any Complaint of it. In a word, we must not judge by the Appearances only, but we must join all the Circumstances together to frame a right Judgment, especially in such Cases as this, wherein the Reputation of a Prince of the Blood, and of a Million of People, his Adherents, lies at stake.

XLIV. The Prince and his Confederates being resolved to follow the abovesaid Scheme, they prepared every thing necessary for the Execution. It had been thought proper to seize all at the same time

*Attempt to
seize the
King at
Meaux.*

time upon *Lyons, Thoulouse, and Troyes.* But those who had taken upon them the Execution, miscarried, either by their own Fault, or by Misfortune; as well as almost all their other Designs whereupon they had resolved after so many Consultations and Deliberations. And on the contrary, several others succeeded against their Expectations whereof they had very little thought, and which were very useful and advantageous unto them. Whereby it is evident, that Men conspicuous for their Sagacity, Prudence and Experience, very often consult, and propose to execute; but that it is God Almighty who disposes of every thing as he thinks meet.

The Prince had appointed the 29th of September for to meet together on Horseback, at a place called *Rozay* in the Province of *Brie.* There many of the neighbouring Nobility and Gentry came to his Highness, who was attended by the Admiral, D'Andelot, the Count of La Rochefoucault. They were already assembled, to the number of four hundred Horse, before the Court had any Notice of it, or at least before the Queen would give any Credit to the Advices sent by Montluc some Weeks before, nor even to those of Castelnau, which he had given several days before. But at last the News being confirmed by too many Witnesses for doubting any longer of it, the Court removed from *Monceaux* to *Meaux*; from whence, in order to give time to the Switzers to come to the King's assistance, the Queen sent the Marshal of Montmorency unto the Prince, to amuse him by a Parley. He asked him what was the matter, and spinned out the time until he could guess that the Switzers were arrived; his Message was to the following purport. To inquire about their Business; to blame the Confederates. For if they had a mind

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

to petition the King for something, why did they not come to him in a peaceable rather than in a warlike manner. Where is your Fealty, says he, where your Allegiance? What will your Enemies say? To what Hatred does not your Highness expose himself, seeing that being one of the first Princes of the Blood you have alienated so many Noblemen from the King's Affections, inciting them by your Example to come to the King in such a disrespectful manner. Lay down your Arms quickly, and come to his Majesty like humble Petitioners: This is the friendly Advice which I give you. To this the Prince replied; That these Names of Faith and Allegiance were become obsolete long ago, seeing that those who boasted of them had violated the Sacredness of them, and were become, by their Ambition, the King's real Enemies: That they had armed themselves for a just Cause, having been forced unto it in their own Defence. As for the rest, the Sincerity of their Designs and Intentions will be made manifest by the Event, if they did but succeed in their Undertaking, and will put an end to all civil Commotions.

While they were disputing together, a Messenger came to the Marshal of Montmorency to let him know that the Switzers were very near, and marched with full Speed to *Meaux*. Whereupon the said Marshal returned to Court, and the Prince of Condé continued his March with the Confederates, in order to join the Auxiliaries, if they came soon enough; but they arrived too late for executing the intended Scheme, because the Switzers had already joined with the King.

When the Marshal of Montmorency was arrived with the Petition he had received of the Prince and the Confederates, and had related what he had done and heard amongst them, a
Council

Council was held at the Constable of Montmorency's House, to consider what was to be done in such an Emergency: The Constable voted for staying at Meaux, and insisted upon it with so great strength of Arguments that the Queen-Mother assented to it for that time.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

But either out of levity, or having been strongly sollicitated by the Cardinal of Lorraine, (who could not see without the greatest Spite so fair an opportunity of gratifying his Ambition, and of ingratiating his Nephews, who were of Age, into the People's Affections, elapsing without improving it) (*u*) she altered her Mind the very same day upon a very slight pretence; she called again the Council in the Duke of Nemours's House, because he was lame with the Gout; there it was represented that the number of the Confederates increased every moment; that it was to be feared lest the King should be besieged in a place without Defence, tho' he had with him six thousand Switzers; therefore the Cardinal's Party prevailing (*v*), it was resolved to set out that

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very

(*u*) Thuan. lib. XLII. p. 468.

(*v*) It seems to me, that Reason as well as the Spirit of Party prevailed together in this Deliberation. And indeed if Castelnau is to be credited, he was the first who gave Notice of the Plot to the Court; he discovered it by chance as he returned from Flanders, where he had been to compliment, in the King's Name, the Duke of Alva, upon his arrival in that Country. He was not credited at Court, nay he was chid for it by the Constable and the Chancellor, nevertheless, his Report was confirmed by some Couriers coming from Lyons the next day; but the Court was still incredulous, and even refused to give Credit to one of Castelnau's Brethren sent by the Queen on purpose to *reconnoitre*; but at last they opened their Eyes upon the relation of Titus de Castelnau. Now what better Course could the Court take, than to leave a place without Defence, before the Confederates should be strengthened by the Increase of their Number, and avoid by that means a shedding of Blood, which inevitably would be spilt in the fury of the first Onset; that

and

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

very Night for *Paris*, notwithstanding whatever the Chancellor could say to the contrary, and his Exclamations, that it was to expose the King to the greatest Danger; that it was to betray the Kingdom; to deprive themselves of all means of Peace; to involve themselves in a fatal Necessity of entering into a cruel War, for gratifying the Inclinations of some ambitious Men, who could not abide with Quietness and Peace; and that those who being suborned had spread industriously these Rumours, deserved to be hanged. But all this availed nothing more than to encrease the Suspicions against the Chancellor, who was obliged the next Year to resign his Office, and to retire from Court.

The Resolution being taken, the Switzers were ordered to be ready at Midnight; which Order was chearfully obey'd, for having rested but three Hours at most, they came to their Posts and marched, Colours flying, in good Order; the King with his Nobility, to the number of nine hun-

and several other Reasons, which the Reader can easily discover, makes me to say with Reverence due to the respectable Name of THUANUS, that he is not in the right to blame the Resolution the Court took on this Occasion. I have said that Castelnau discovered the Plot by chance; it was as follows: As he came from *Bruxelles* in his way to France, he was met by some French Gentlemen with whom he had been formerly acquainted; they had been sent into the *Low Countries* to exhort the Reformed to oppose the Duke of Alva's coming in: They desired Castelnau to give them leave to improve his Company; which being granted, they talk'd with him concerning the Suspicions and Mistrusts of the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and the Hugonots of France: They told him, that in order to be rid of them, they were all prepared to rise in Arms, and to begin a War the first: That for that end, they intended to seize upon the King, the Queen his Mother, and his Brethren, and their Council, to punish those who endeavoured to destroy their Religion, and the Defenders thereof, and to hinder their Enemies and Ill-wishers from doing them any further harm. See *Memoirs de Castelnau*, liv. VI. ch. iv.

hundred, almost unarmed, and riding for the most part very sorry Horses, being in the Centre. When they had marched about four Leagues, they met with the Confederate Troops, consisting of four hundred Horse or thereabouts, armed only with Pistols, Swords, and Cuirasses: then the Constable seeing that he could go no further without fighting, ordered the Switzers to halt, that they might withstand the Confederates. The Prince of Condé, with a few of his Attendants, came out of the Ranks, and desired to speak with the King, which being refused, several Skirmishes ensued between his Troop and the Switzers. The Constable thinking that the Matter might come to a general Battle, and seeing that the number of Skirmishers increased apace, thought proper to send the King by some By-ways, known only to the Natives of that Country, to Paris; where he arrived safely with few Attendants. Mean while the Confederates discontinued not their Skirmishes, and the Switzers, according to custom in such cases, having kissed the Ground, and devoted their Bodies and Souls to the King's Service, disposed themselves to fight. They bravely withstood all the Onsets of their Enemies, and continuing their March, they repulsed them for twelve Miles together; they arrived safe at Bourget, four Miles distant from Paris, having lost only thirty Men, which were killed out of their Rank (x).

The Confederates seeing that the King had been sent away, desisted from their Pursuit, and arrived at *Clayes* on the 30th of September; there they stayed five days waiting for the coming of the Auxiliaries that came from *Picardy, Champagne,*

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(x) Thuan. *ibid.* Dinot. Hist. lib. III. pag. 188. Castelnau, lib. VI. ch. v. he says, that the Confederates were five or six hundred in number.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

paign, Burgundy, and the adjacent Countries, as well as for an Answer from the King to the Petition which the Marshal of Montmorency had tendered in their Name to his Majesty.

When the Court was arrived at Paris on the 29th of September, according to Thuanus, the Cardinal of Lorraine thought proper to go to *Rbeims*; but being near *Chateau-Thierry*, he fell in with a Party that went to join the Confederates, and tho' he rode a very swift Spanish Horse, he escaped very narrowly from being taken; he lost all his Plate and Baggage, which was divided amongst the Soldiers.

XLV. The Prince and his Confederates doubting not but that the King would deny all their Demands, sent Orders to their Agents in Poitou, Guienne, Languedoc, Dauphiné and Auvergne, to hasten the March of the Troops that were sent from these Provinces; and having received those that were come from the neighbouring Provinces, they thought proper to hinder the Provisions from coming into Paris: for that end they seized upon *Montereau-Faut-Yonne* above, and *St. Denis* below that City, near the borders of the Seine, which commands all the Country on that side. They put a Garrison in the first; and the Prince took his Quarters at *St. Denis*. As he passed he burnt all the Mills between the Gates of the *Temple* and of *St. Honoré*, which served only to increase the King's Anger, and the Hatred of the *Parisians*.

Before this, Orleans had been seized on the 28th of September for the Reformed. LA NOUE having been sent by the Prince for that purpose with only 15 Horses, according to D'Aubigné, executed bravely, but very cunningly, his Commission, with the Help of the Reformed Inhabitants, with whom he kept Correspondence, and obliged

obliged Captain CABAN to capitulate for the Castle wherein he lodged, with his Garrison. Then having settled every thing for the Preservation of that place, he set out to raise Troops; and having conferred with the VIDAME OF CHARTRES, the Count of MONTGOMERY, the Count of SUZE, CHARLES DE BEAUMANOIR LAVARDIN, and some others, each of them took their Division, and travelled with an incredible Diligence through *Britany, Anjou, Touraine, High Normandy, Perche, and Beauſſe*; they assembled together a Body of Troops of a thousand Horse and three thousand Foot, wherewith they took *Janville, Estampes, Dourdens*, where they left Garrisons; then by the Prince's Orders the rest continued their March without any further delay, and having overcome several Difficulties, they crossed the *Seine* at *St. Clou*, with Boats prepared for that purpose, and came to *St. Ouyn*, where they were covered by the Admiral; and having joined all their Troops together, they made a Body of two thousand Horse and four thousand Foot (y).

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

The more we consider this Step of the Prince and his Confederate, the more we find their boldness very surprizing: With a handful of Troops they pretend to besiege a City of such large extent as Paris was, full of People, with the King, his whole Court, the most experienced Officers, and six thousand Switzers, besides his own Guards. Nothing but Despair could engage the Prince to attempt such a thing. It is what LA NOUË observes in his political and military Discourses.

„ When Men, says he, are spurred on by Necessity, their Courage increases double, and
„ their

(y) Amirault vie du Seig. de la Noüe, corrected and improved in this place, with the help of Thuanus and others. Thuan. lib. XLII. pag. 473.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

„ their first Fears lose their Grounds, they are
 „ less afraid to run into the most difficult and
 „ hazardous Attempts. It was then the case of
 „ the Reformed. For seeing the Sword already
 „ drawn, and hanging over their Heads, they
 „ resolved to escape rather with their Arms than
 „ with their Legs; and overlooking several Con-
 „ siderations, they thought that it behoved them
 „ to be magnanimously the first with their Ene-
 „ mies. (*And three things rendered this beginning*
awful, wherewith the Catholicks were confounded
at first). 1. The universal Insurrection all over
 „ the Kingdom, all on one and the same time.
 „ Many Reformed, that were not in the Secret,
 „ were surprized at it, and many Catholicks that
 „ did not expect it were frightened by it; had
 „ these begun the first, they would, perhaps,
 „ have been more severe to the Reformed, than
 „ the Reformed were to them. However, they
 „ were mighty sorry to see so many Cities seiz-
 „ ed upon all at once by the Reformed; and
 „ some of them said, THE BRETHREN have
 „ surprized us unawares, but, one time or an-
 „ other, we shall requite them for it. And they
 „ were as good as their word—Some thought
 „ that so many Notices sent throughout the Pro-
 „ vinces would discover the Enterprize. But
 „ this happened only in few places (*especially in*
Languedoc and Guienn) who were, however, the
 „ most important (z). 2. Their boldness in as-
 „ faulting six thousand Switzers, and obliging
 „ them to give ground with less than five hun-
 „ dred Horse. True it is, that according to the
 „ Scheme laid, they were to be a greater number,
 „ „ espe-

(z) This shows that the Constable and Chancellor's opi-
 nion above-mentioned, that the Court should stay at Meaux,
 and come to a Parley with the Prince, was not the best;
 since the Insurrection was general all over the Provinces, it
 was impossible to quell so soon the Tumult, and a War was
 unavoidable.

„ especially some Harquebusiers on horseback ;
 „ however they failed not to take the Field, but
 „ to be time enough at the appointed place ; and
 „ because they were so few, the Chiefs of the
 „ Reformed durst not venture a general Charge
 „ with that thick Body, much like a Forest.
 „ Besides that their Horses were half spent with
 „ the long March they had done. Nevertheless I
 „ heard them say, that had the Troops of Pi-
 „ cardy, of 150 Horse strong, been arrived, they
 „ would have tried their Fortune, causing the
 „ Harquebusiers to alight, and charging with
 „ their Squadrons on three Sides. But tho'
 „ they had done so, the Success would have
 „ been still very dubious. 3. The seizing upon
 „ the Town of *St. Denis*, where the Prince
 „ of Condé took his Quarters with all his Forces,
 „ and in two neighbouring Villages, which he
 „ caused to be retrenched, to besiege Paris on
 „ that side. All these things being considered
 „ even by the best Captains among the Catho-
 „ licks, they wondered at it, and thought that
 „ the said Prince expected speedily some great
 „ Forces, and had some good Intelligence, both
 „ in the City and at Court ; for otherwise, said
 „ they, he would not have been so bold, being
 „ so weak, to come and take his Quarters so
 „ near us. And the Admiral, a wise and great
 „ Captain, would not have advised this, had he
 „ not some secret help. Therefore they pro-
 „ longed the time till they had gathered all their
 „ Forces. Several others were much offended at
 „ their Chiefs, because they suffered such a hand-
 „ ful of Men to come and dare them every day
 „ by continual Skirmishes ; seeing that they had
 „ in the City near ten thousand Men ready to
 „ fight them, and that it was a great shame to
 „ see an Ant besieging an Elephant. But me-
 „ thinks the Considerations of others were more

Charles
 IX.
 1567.
 Pope Pius
 V.

„ wise,

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

„ wise, who affirmed, that it would be notori-
 „ ously imprudent to hazard the whole Body of
 „ the State, which is, as it were, inclosed in the
 „ Walls of Paris, by a Battle even against Mad-
 „ men, say they, who have now no other Counsel-
 „ lor but their Despair, nor any other Riches than
 „ their Arms and Horses. And that having in
 „ their Possession such a sacred thing as the King's
 „ Person, it behoved them to do every thing
 „ with Security, and that in a short time the
 „ good effects of so wise a Resolution would be
 „ felt. So there was between the Wisdom of
 „ the one and the Temerity of others a discord-
 „ ing Agreement, if I may say so, for some days.”
 So far the great La Nouë (a).

XLVI. Paris being blocked up, and Provisions begin-
Several ning to grow scarce in the City, the Court sent
Parleys be- several Messages to the Prince, feigning a great
tween the Inclination to bring Matters to some Agreement,
Court and and to give all reasonable Satisfaction to the Prince
the Prince. and his Adherents.

In one of the Petitions sent by the Prince to the King, he required, 1. That the King should disband the foreign Troops that were in his Service. 2. That he would be pleased to receive kindly, the Prince, and the Lords his Adherents, when having laid down their Arms, they would go and tender their Remonstrances to his Majesty, concerning the many Vexations and Injustices done to the Reformed, and to redress kindly their Grievances. 3. To punish severely their Calumniators. 4. To restore to their full Force the Edicts granted in behalf of the Reformed, which had been enervated by subsequent Interpretations, and Declarations. 5. To prefer to Dignities, Honours and Offices, those of his Majesty's Subjects, of what Religion soever,
 who,

(a) La Nouë Disc. pol. & mil. pag. 879, 880, 881, &c.

who, by their personal Qualifications, should deserve them. 6. To ease the People from those Taxes and Imposts whereby they were overloaded through the Suggestion and Avarice of the *Italians*, and other Blood-suckers, who bore sway with the Court. 7. To assemble the General States of the Kingdom, who might, with a full freedom, frame some wholesome Laws for reforming the ill Administration of the Government.

That Petition having been brought to Court by *LIGNEROLLES*, the Queen-Mother was extremely incensed at it, being a Princess of a lavish Temper; the new Taxes every day invented and loaded upon the People, were scarce sufficient for gratifying her Inclinations. Therefore taking for herself what the Prince said of the *Italians*, and thinking that he had a mind to frighten her with the threatening of the General States, and to deprive her of the Administration of the Government; she provoked the whole Court against the Reformed, and that the more easily, inasmuch that it was reported at Court, that the Prince had caused a Proclamation to be set up, in his own Name, at *Montereau-faut-yonne*, and several other places, which was to the same Purport with the said Petition: So instead of an Answer, she sent on the 7th of October an Herald, in the King's Name, to summon the Prince and his Adherents, to lay down their Arms, and to come to pay their Homage and Duty to the King, as their lawful Sovereign, constituted by God over them to govern them: Or to declare in Writing, that these Troops were assembled with their Approbation, so that the King might decree what he should think proper.

The Prince, and the Lords his Adherents were somewhat confounded at this Summons, and most part of them were of opinion to moderate

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.



rate their Demands. They were sensible that they should expose themselves to the Hatred of foreign Princes, especially those of Germany, was it made publick that they mixed together Political Affairs with those of Religion; and that the Zeal of their Friends and Allies would quite grow cool, as soon as they should be acquainted that they undertook to prescribe Rules to their King for the Civil Government of the State. Therefore they unanimously agreed to send another Petition to his Majesty, wherein they demanded nothing else but Liberty of Conscience; and the free and publick Profession of their Religion throughout the Kingdom; as to the rest, they most humbly besought his Majesty to forgive them for having interfered with such things: They intreated him, not to put any bad Construction upon their Meaning, but to look upon what they had said concerning Taxes, and the convening of the General States, only as Counsels proceeding from the sincere Heart of his most faithful Subjects, who truly concerned themselves in his own Glory, the Prosperity of his Reign, and the Welfare of the whole Kingdom, but not for prescribing any thing upon that Subject to his Majesty, &c.

This Petition being brought to Court, caused great Alterations in their Minds; the Wisest and most Moderate thought, that since the Confederates desired nothing else but Liberty of Conscience and Freedom of Religion, there were yet some Hopes of bringing Matters to an Agreement. The Queen at first exclaimed against it; being quite altered by the Increase of her Authority since the Duke of Guise's Death, and the decay of that great Power (*which she had so much dreaded*) and by the Cardinal of Lorraine's Adulations, she endeavoured to sow discord between the Constable and

and the Colignies, his Nephews, whose Union and Concord during the Peace, was suspicious unto her. However, the Constable's Interest prevailed on this Occasion, and notwithstanding her Opposition, it was resolved to try another Conference.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

The Constable himself, the Marshals of Montmorency and Coffé, Biron, the Secretary L'Aubespine, came to *la Chapelle*, a Place lying half-way from Paris to St. Denis, where the Prince, the Colignies, the Vidame of Chartres, the Count of Saulx and de Cany, repaired. But whereas, these last insisted upon the free publick Profession of the Reformed Religion throughout the Kingdom, without any Distinction of Places or Persons; and that the Constable answered that the King would never consent to any thing like, and said that the Edicts granted unto them, were not perpetual; that the last was only for a time; that the King intended not to suffer two Religions in his Dominions, but rather to endeavour by all means to reunite the Reformed with the Catholick Church; and that he chose to be at War with them, rather than be exposed to the Hatred or Suspicions of the neighbouring Princes, upon that account; the Conferences broke up; and they parted without doing any thing, and both Parties disposed themselves for War. (*b*)

All this while Castelnau had been sent to Bruxelles to ask aid of the Duke of Alva; for tho' the Levies of Troops had been ordered throughout the Kingdom, before the Insurrection of the Reformed, as D'Avila observes (*c*), nevertheless these Forces, being dispersed in the Provinces, could not be so soon ready to come to Paris; therefore it was agreed to send Castelnau with

(*b*) Thuanus, lib. 42. pag. 471, 72, 73. (*c*) D'Avila, Tom. 1. liv. 4. pag. 171.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

with all speed to desire the Governour of the Low Countries, to assist the King in this Occurrence, and to send him three or four Regiments of Spaniards and Italian Foot; with the thousand Light Spanish Horse, and the thousand Italian which he had brought along with him. But the crafty Spaniard, who desired no better than to see the Civil War kindled in the Kingdom, amused maliciously for several Weeks the French Ambassador, and at last denied such a Succour as was desired; instead of which, he offered four or five thousand Lanskenets, and fifteen or sixteen hundred Horse of the Gendarmery of the Low-Countries. Castelnau accepted of the Gendarmery, which was led by the Count of AREMBERG, which however arrived at Paris but one or two days after the Battel of St. Denis.

The News of the coming of these Troops being brought to the Confederates Camp, Montgomery and D'Andelot went with a Detachment of the Prince's Army, the first to Pontoise, t'other to Poissy, to oppose their Passage (*d*). But the Constable (offended at the Murmuring of the Parisians, who complained loudly that he juggled with his Nephews the Colignies) improved this Opportunity to fight the Confederates. Few days before, he had drove the Reformed out of several Villages and Places which they occupied along the *Seine*; and by that means had opened a free Passage for Provisions to come into the City; but for all that the People were not satisfied, they required that the Confederates, who made incursions every day to the very Gates of Paris, should be intirely drove out. Therefore the Constable having sent out of the City, on the 9th of November, some Troops of Horse to *reconnoitre* the Strength of the Confederates and their

(*d*) Mem. de Castelnau, liv. vi. ch. 6, 7.

their Situation, and for harrassing them by frequent Skirmishes, understanding that D'Andelot and Montgomery were gone as above said, came out from Paris on the 10th, with the whole Army, consisting of sixteen Thousand Foot of the old Bands, and three Thousand Horse, besides the Trained Bands of Paris, and fourteen Cannon; the Prince had no more than fifteen Hundred Horses, and twelve Hundred Foot, without any Cannon or Field-Piece, and even the Horse were very ill armed, most part of the Lanciers having only some Poles of St. Denis's Fair instead of Lances. The Constable thought that the Prince would never venture to fight upon such a great Inequality, and that it would be an easy matter for himself to cut his small Troop to pieces, or to dislodge him from St. Denis and other neighbouring Places occupied by him, or at least to inclose them in that Town, and have them at his mercy. But he mistook in his Conjectures, for the Prince was no less eager for fighting than his Aggressors.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

I shall not enter into the Particulars of that most renowned Day, called of St. Denis, from the Place wherein the Battel was fought, and wherein an Ant was seen engaging an Elephant with such Superiority of Courage as to make him all over bloody, without being crushed under its Feet. None but Frenchmen, in the Heat of a Party, would venture so far as the Confederates did on this Occasion; to engage their Enemies, without Cannon, with so small a number of Foot, to cope with a Royal Army composed of the best Troops, rather than to dislodge out of a Place which they could not keep long; the Wisdom of the Prince, the Admiral, and other Chiefs might be called in question, was it not for other Considerations: and the first is, that having stayed so long in

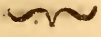
Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

those Quarters, their Enemies had time to strengthen themselves to that degree, that it was almost impossible for them to escape without flying. Secondly, their main Forces consisted chiefly of Nobility gathered from several Parts of the Kingdom, which ought to be employed, lest they should disband without doing any thing, for want of Furniture, and of what was necessary for their Subsistence. Thirdly, it was much for their Credit amongst the Foreigners, to take such a Resolution, for had they suffered themselves to be shut up in St. Denis, or had they fled without fighting, their Reputation would have sunk abroad, they would have been looked upon as a Party, quite despicable for its Weakness. Fourthly, they were not without Hopes that they should get the day, by some unforeseen Accident, either because their Enemies, despising their small Number, would be less cautious, or because they would be frightned at their stout Countenance, not expecting that they would have ever been bold enough to wait for them and withstand them; besides that, they considered that the Days were then very short and dark; that it would take a long time before the whole Army could be marched out of Paris, and be drawn up in Battalia, and before the Guns could be ready to play; that therefore, suppose they should be worsted, it would be easy for them to retreat by means of the Darkness; in a word, that it was better to die with Honour, than to live with Reproach; and several things happened as they had foreseen.

The Royal Army could not be drawn up in Battalia, nor the Guns be ready, till late in the Evening; they were surpris'd to find the Confederates resolve to withstand them; their Artillery was not well levelled, and fired over their Enemies head; and the Confederates assaulted
with

with such a Bravery, that their Enemies were surpris'd at it, and suffered much from their first Onset. D'Aubigné relates, that a Turkish Ambassador having been brought to Montmartre to see the Fight, exclaimed several times, *O, had my Master only two Thousand Men like those White Coats, (the Confederates) at the Head of each of his Armies, the whole World would not stand before him for two Years together!* The Battle lasted but three quarters of an Hour; the Confederates being overpowered by Numbers, retreated in good Order to St. Denis, being pursued only for half a quarter of an Hour. The Prince of Condé had a Horse killed under him, and was very near being taken: The Admiral was carried amidst the Enemies by his hard-mouthed Horse, and was not to be seen for some time, insomuch that the News was brought to Court that he had been taken Prisoner, brought to Paris, and concealed in some House; the Queen giving credit to that Report, caused a search to be made; and whereas she suspected Christophorus de la Chapelle aux Ursins, because of some Affinity between him and the Admiral, she ordered his House to be thoroughly searched from the top to the bottom. The Constable was desperately wounded by Stuart, some say by another Scotchman, and was carried half dead out of the Field, to Paris, which occasioned great Confusions in his Army. The Royalists Loss amounted to above three Hundred Horse, and two or three Hundred Foot, but no Persons of great Note, the Count of Chaulnes excepted, and forty-four Officers; many were wounded, some of whom died of their Wounds a few days after, amongst whom, the most considerable were, the Constable, and his Nephew Claude de Battarnay, Baron of Anton, a very promising Youth. On the Re-

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.



Charles IX. 1567. Pope Pius V. formed Side they lost above three Hundred Horse, and a few Foot, and about 50 of the Prime Nobility, amongst whom were the Counts of Saulx and de la Suze, and the Vidame of Amiens (e).

D'Andelot who had been sent for in all haste, arrived at Midnight, and the next day the Troops being reinforced by his coming, they came again into the Field of Battel, and endeavoured to provoke their Enemies to come out again and renew the Fight; but it was in vain, and that for three Reasons, 1. Because of the Condition the Constable was in; for not being able to stir, there was no body to command the Army. 2. The general Consternation of the Parisians; for tho' the Royalists might boast themselves that they had got the day, since they had been Masters of the Field of Battel, nevertheless that small Advantage cost them so dear, that it was to them a matter of Sorrow rather than Joy. 3. They were afraid in the City lest the Assassins and the starving Mob, which were in great Numbers, having raised some tumult, should plunder the Houses and murder the People; and likewise lest those who countenanced the Confederates, should seize upon some of the Gates and introduce them into the City. Therefore the Confederates seeing that the Royal Army could not be provoked to fight again, they went back to their former Quarters, after having burnt La Chapelle and some Windmills at the Gates of Paris.

XLVIII. The next day, the 12th of November, died *The Constable's Death.* Annas of Montmorency, Great Constable of France, in the 74th Year of his Age, and not near

(e) La Nouë Disc. Pol. & Mil. pag. 884—892. Castelnau Mem. liv. vi. ch. 8. Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. vi. ch. 7. pag. 458. Thuan. Hist. lib. xlii. pag. 477, 8, 9. Dinothi Hist. lib. iii. pag. 194—198. This last says that the Battel lasted for two Hours, but he is opposed by all the former. D'Aubigné, tom. I. liv. iv. ch. 9 & 10.

near 80, as some have said, much less an hundred, as Voltaire says. He was a Man conspicuous for his Sagacity, and for his great Experience in Military Affairs, caring but very little what the People said; he had done great Services to the Kingdom under Francis I, and Henry II. and would have been still very serviceable under Francis II, and Charles IX, had he endeavoured to reconcile the Heads of the two Parties, rather than adhere to any. He had been present at eight Battles, in four whereof he had commanded in Chief, but generally he had been unsuccessful. His Bigotry went so far, that it carried him to do Things much unbecoming his Character and high Station, whereby he got the Nick-name of Captain Burning-Pews, as above said in our 2d Vol. It is said, that as he came out of Paris at the Head of the Army, he told those that were there present, *This Day will evince my Innocence, and deliver me from the Reproaches of the People, and the Jealousies of my Enemies; for either I shall come back Vanquisher, or a dead Man.* And as he was on his Death-bed, a Fryar being come to comfort him, he desired him to let him alone, for, says he, *it would be a very shameful thing, should I have lived so long without learning how to die a quarter of an Hour.* D'Avila admires this, but, if it is true that the Constable had ever uttered such Words, which I question much, they shew, methinks, either that the Fryar had nothing but some of his old Tales of Purgatory to tell him, or that the Constable was very sorry to die; for a truly honest Man in his Condition never refuses Counsels and Comforts to support him, unless, by the Violence of the Sickness, he should be out of his Wits (*f*). However, he was bur-

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ried

(*f*) What makes me to question this Account of D'Avila, is, that he makes the Constable say that he had lived 80 Years;

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

ried with a funeral Pomp almost Royal, by the Queen Mother's Orders, his Effigy being carried in the Procession. Her Majesty paid the Charges of it very willingly; she looked upon the Death of her Critick as a great Blessing to her. She was very cautious not to fill up the Vacancy but by a Person intirely in her Dependance, and upon whom she might safely rely; therefore she engaged the King by her Intreaties, to name the Duke of Anjou his Brother for his Lieutenant-General, which she obtained at last with great reluctance, for the King saw, not without Jealousy, the Preference which his Mother gave to his Brother in her Affections, and he was afraid to invest him with such great Power and Authority, which he might abuse to his prejudice. However, having complied, the Queen named for his Council, whereby he ought to govern himself, the Dukes of Nemours and of Longueville, and the Marshals of Cossé and Tavares, and some others.

XLIX.

*The King's
Forces in-
crease eve-
ry day.*

Every day arrived at Paris some new Re-inforcements from the Provinces, and I do not know where D'Avila has read that Montluc excused himself to send any, on pretence that he wanted all his Forces to oppose the Huguenots in Guienn and Languedoc; seeing that Montluc affirms positively in his Memoirs, that tho' the King, (who had acquainted him by his Letters of the Attempt of the Huguenots, to surprize him at Meaux) did not command him to send any Succours, thinking that he could hardly keep all the Countries of his own Government with the Troops he had; nevertheless he gave notice to his Majesty of the Succours which he intended to send,

Years; now it is certain that he was but 74, according to his Epitaph, and he could not mistake himself so far in the reckoning of his Age. D'Avila, liv. iv. pag. 178.

send, and that the Succour was not even inconsiderable, since it consisted of twelve Hundred Horse or thereabout, and thirty Companies of Foot, which marched out from *Limoges* at the latter end of October or the beginning of November, and took their way thro' *Moulins*, under the Command of Terride (g).

Charles IX. 1567. Pope Pius V.

The Confederates having got notice of the March of their Auxiliaries from Germany, were very glad of that Opportunity to dislodge from St. Denis, under pretence of going to meet the Germans in Lorrain; they began to be afraid lest the Royal Forces increasing every day, they should be besieged in that little Town, or at least hindred from joining the said Auxiliaries; therefore they marched out on the 15th or 16th of November, and went to *MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE*, where they left Rance with seven Companies of Foot, and proceeded into Lorrain to receive the Auxiliaries. The Prince had sent his Orders to all the Provinces to hasten the March of the Troops that were raised in *Poitou*, *Angoumois*, and *Xaintonge*.

L. The Prince marches out of St. Denis.

Several Cities had been already seized for the Prince; *Soissons*, in Picardy; *Auxerre* and *Macon*, in Burgundy; *Valence*, in Dauphiné; *Nimes*, and *Montpellier*, in Languedoc; *Dieppe*, in Normandy, and several others in other Provinces, either had been seized, or had declared themselves of their own accord for the Confederates.

LI. Several Provinces and Towns declare for the Prince,

The Troops of *Guienn* being in readines, marched, to the number of three Regiments of Foot, each Regiment composed of nine Ensigns, commanded by very experienced Officers, such as *PARDAILLAN*, *PILES*, and *CHAMPAGNAC*, who had been formerly a Monk, but was turned

And send Troops to his Assistance.

O 4 to

(g) D'Avila, tom. i. liv. iv. pag. 174. Commentaires de Blaise de Montluc. liv. vi. 446, 47, 48.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

to the Reformed, and fourteen Troops of Horse commanded by PUY-GREFFIER, SAINT CYRE, LANGUILLIER, LANDERAU, PLUVIAUT, and St. MARTIN DE LA COUDRE; having provided themselves with some Field-Pieces at *Confolens*, they stormed *Dorat* and came to *Poitou*; they took *Lusignan* by Composition, then they stayed some days before *Poitiers*, thinking to take it by means of their Intelligence with the Reformed Inhabitants; but the Count of LUDE having hastened with the Nobility of the Country, they were obliged to desist, and proceeded to Orleans, where having taken along with them two great Guns and a Culverine, a good stock of Gunpowder, and other Ammunitions, they came by the latter end of November to *Pont-sur-Tonne*, kept by St. Martin and St. Loup, with three Companies of Foot; they forced their way by storming the Place, and were happily joined by the Admiral, who proceeded to *Sens* with the rest of the Confederates, in order to seize upon that Town, but they were prevented by the Duke of Aumale, whom the Court had sent that way to hinder, if possible, the junction of the Auxiliaries coming from Germany to the Confederates (*b*).

III. The Court doubting not but that the Prince would treat with the German Princes for Troops, had sent unto them BOCHETEL Bishop of Rennes, and
The Court sends Ambassador to Germany.

(*b*) Thuanus mistakes, when he says that the said Duke had been sent to Lorraine to receive three thousand Horse, led by the Duke John William of Saxony, &c. for Castelnau, who had been sent to the said Duke on purpose to manage those Succours, contradicts him as to the time, and as to the Person sent to receive them. As to the time, Castelnau says positively that himself was Ambassador to the Saxon Prince after the junction of the Confederates with their Auxiliaries of Germany, that is, in January next; as to the Person who received them, he himself had led them into France; as to their Number, they were 5000 Reisters. See Mem. de Casteln. liv. vi. ch. 9. and Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 481.

and after him Lansac, with orders to represent to the said Princes, that the Reformed had took up Arms, not for the Defence of their Religion, since they enjoyed a full Liberty of Conscience, and every thing granted unto them by the former Edicts, which they pretended to make out by some supposititious Letters from some of the Reformed of France to their Friends abroad. But that they carried their Views further, with an intent to deprive his Majesty and his Brethren of their Estate; for that Reason they had attacked them when they had not thought to make war, and had attempted to seize upon their Majesties and the King's Brethren, the Princes, Lords and Counsellors that followed the Court, and that their Intention had been made very plain, by their besieging *Paris*, and fighting a Battle at the very Gates. These Instructions of the two Ambassadors above named, and which I have translated out of Thuanus, and corrected by Castelnau's Memoirs, are a Demonstration of the Falseness of the Charge laid by Father Daniel upon the Prince of Condé and his Adherents; for had they plotted to murder the King and his Brethren, and to place the first Prince of the Blood upon the Throne, had they coined such Medals with the said Inscription, how came it to pass, that the Queen, far from insisting upon that, said not a word of it in these Instructions?

However, tho' the Cases were thus misrepresented to the Princes of Germany, the Ambassadors prevailed so far with the Landgrave of Hesse, the Electors Augustus of Saxony, and Joachim of Brandenburg, that they resolved to give no Assistance to the Prince of Condé; but the Elector Palatine was more cautious, he could not give credit intirely to Lansac the King's Ambassador, nor to Chastelier de la Porte, and Barbier de

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

They represent against the Prince and his Adherents.

They prevail with several Princes.

Charles
IX.
1567.
Pope Pius
V.

de Francour the Prince's Envoys, who intreated him to grant some Auxiliaries to the Confederates; therefore, in order to be rid of his Scruples, he resolved to send Venceslaus de Zuleger, whom our French Historians call de Soulegres, one of his State Counsellors, to the Court of France with Lanfac; having obtained promise from the French Ambassador that he would bring him back safe with him. This Gentleman was not long at the Court of France, and in the Prince's Camp, without being fully convinced of the Falsity of Lanfac, and the Bishop of Rennes's Assertions as to the Condition the Reformed had been in before the War, and were still in, and as to the Reasons which had forced them to rise in arms; and being gone back to his Master, he gave him a true Relation of the Case, and how the Matter stood in the Kingdom, and advised his Electoral Highness not to delay any longer the promised Auxiliaries, but to grant liberty to Prince CASIMIR, his own Son, to march directly: and he took upon himself the Commission of going to the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to tell them the Truth of the Matter, to the end that they should not take it ill, that the Elector Palatine should lend his help to the Prince of Condé. As soon as the Prince got notice of this Success, and that the Auxiliaries had began their March, he marched to meet them (j).

LIII. *The Royal Army marches against the Prince.* The Duke of Anjou had marched out of Paris at the Head of the King's Army, to fight the Prince while he was at Montereau; but he was gone when the Duke arrived there. However, as he had Orders to engage them at any rate before the junction of the Germans, he followed them, and met with a fair Opportunity at *Our Lady of Thorn*, near *Châlons*, in *Champaign*, but he

(j) Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 481.

he let it slip, by the neglect, as it was said, of the Marshall of Cossé; and not being pursued, they entered into Lorraine by long Journeys: The Duke went with his Army to Vitry, and the Confederates to Senne, waiting for the Germans.

Charles IX.
1567.
Pope Pius V.

The Queen-Mother came to visit her dear Son, and to consider of the best means either of engaging the Confederates, or of coming to some feigned Agreement with them. Before that time, and while the Reformed were still in Champaign, she had desired a Conference with the Confederates, which the Vidame of Chartres had much opposed, but the Prince's Advice prevailed, and having agreed with Combault the Queen's Deputy, that he would be himself at Montereau upon such a Day, to confer there with the King's Deputies, his Highness found, to his great Surprise, that he had been deceived, and that the Court had no other View but to amuse him, and delay his March.

LIV.
The Queen-Mother comes to the Camp.

They had agreed upon a Truce for three Days between the two Parties; but that Facility of the Confederates was very near to cost them very dear: for the Prince of Condé having took his Quarters in very bad Places while the King's Army followed him, he would very likely have been engaged, had it not been for the Count of Brissac's Hastiness; he surprised some Troops of Horse led by Captain Blosset and some others in the Confederates Party, and cut them to pieces during the Truce, which News being brought to the Prince, he dislodged quickly.

LV.
The Queen endeavours to surprise the Confederates Army unawares.

For all that the Treaty was always upon the Carpet, Combault was sent again by the King with some Articles, whereby he consented that the Cardinal of Chatillon, the Count of La Rochefoucaut and Bouchavanes should be named

She feigns to be willing to come to an Agreement.

Com-

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Commissaries for the Prince, and sent to them a Safe-Conduct for coming to him.

LVI.
*Conferences that
come to no-
thing.*

Accordingly the Cardinal of Chatillon, with some of the Nobility (for it was not thought proper to send the Count of La Rochefoucault nor Bouchavanes, their Presence being necessary in the Army) set out for *Ambert*, and from thence for *Châlons*, where the Queen arrived the next day, with the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise. The Cardinal of Chatillon having told her Majesty that the Confederates were ready to submit themselves to the Terms tendered by the King, only they desired to be plainly resolved as to some obscure and ambiguous Words that were in them; he besought her Majesty to consider that all manner of Delays were very prejudicial to the Kingdom, that the Expences for the Maintenance of the Army amounted to above an hundred thousand Crowns a day, besides the Murders, Plunders, and other dreadful Inconveniences, wherewith a Civil War is always attended, and that half an hour's time was enough for clearing all the Difficulties, did both Parties proceed but sincerely.

The Queen answered, that the Matter was of such a Moment, that the King, who was at age, ought to take cognizance of it, and deliberate with his Council upon it, and that it could not be resolved but before him, and by him. Therefore she desired the said Cardinal to come himself to *Vincennes*, and having given all the Securities required, she commanded Blosset Lord of Torcy, Knight of the Golden Fleece, with twenty Yeomen of the Guard, to attend his Eminency to *Vincennes*; there he received the King's Orders not to confer or keep any Intelligence with any Parisian soever.

The

The Queen, having taken another Road, arrived at *Paris*; and the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise at *Rheims*. Morvilliers and Lanfac were sent to confer with the Cardinal of Chatillon, who at first declined the Conference, because he had been promised that it should be before the King. But being told, that when the Matters should have been debated, then the King would conclude with him, he consented to it, and the Conference began: He required that the Edict of Amboise should be fully restored to all its Purpose and Intent, without any Restriction or Limitation; and whatever had been done to the contrary should be repealed; that an Edict for that Purpose should be published and registred in all the Parliaments of the Realm, at the Instances of the King's Attorney-General, and should be in force till the Determination of a free General Council.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

That being agreed upon, it remained to resolve some Articles of the said Amboisian Edict; and the Cardinal thought that would be done before the King. But on the next day, Christophle de Thou, and René Baillet were sent unto him, but judging rightly that such Mutation of Persons was done on purpose to prolong the time, he refused to enter into any Conference with them, and so three days were spinned out. At last the Queen sent for him to the Convent of the Minimes, not far from Paris; where the Conference had no better Success than the first. On the 20th of January, Morvilliers was sent again to him with a Message from the King, wherein he charged the Prince and his Confederates with a Breach of Faith, because they had attempted to surprize the Court unawares at Meaux, whereby they had discovered that they aimed at his Royal Person; therefore he

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. he required a just Satisfaction on that Account before he proceeded any further.

The Cardinal answered in Writing, and affirmed that the Confederates Meaning had never been to attempt any thing hurtful or prejudicial to his Majesty's Person or Service, but only to secure themselves against their Enemies; who had plotted their Destruction, and were ready to execute their wicked Designs against them; had they not been prevented, &c. &c. That Answer was published afterwards; so ended the Conferences (i).

LVII. *The Confederates join the Germans.* The Confederates being arrived in Lorraine, they found not the Germans, as they expected, neither could they hear of them for some days, which caused many to murmur against their Chiefs, and several had a mind to disband, had it not been for the merry Humour of the Prince, and the grave Speeches of the Admiral.

But at last, they heard that Prince Casimir Son to the Elector Palatine was not far off, whereby their Sorrows were turned into Joy.

But the Anxiety of the Chiefs increased, for the Prince's Agents had promised unto the Germans to pay down an hundred thousand Crowns, as soon as they should have joined with the Confederates, and they had scarce Money enough to discharge their own daily Expence.

LVIII. *Great Generosity of the Prince's Army.* Reduced to this Strait, the Prince and the Admiral resolved to engage their own Army to contribute towards the Payment of that Sum, or at least, part of it; their Words, but above all, their Example, were so persuasive, that what had never been seen before, was done at this time, viz. that a part of an Army deprived themselves of their necessary Subsistence, in order to gratify the other: and indeed not only the Prince, the Admiral,

(i) Thuan. lib. xlii. pag. 486, 87.

Admiral, (who delivered all their Plate and Jewels for that purpose) and the Commanding Officers and Subalterns, but even the Centinels, nay, the Servants and Black-guards themselves, incited by the Example of one another, and by the Ministers Exhortations, contributed what they could towards it.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

The Collection amounted to thirty thousand Crowns, wherewith the Germans were satisfied for that time, especially at the Intreaties of Prince Casimir, who wrote to the King from *Pont à Mousson*, declaring to his Majesty, that what had moved him to come, was not a sordid Interest, but for the Defence of those who professed the same Religion with himself, and that he was ready to go back with his Troops, as soon as his Majesty would be pleased to grant unto them Liberty of Conscience, and the free Profession of their Religion, and that they might be sufficiently secured, as to their Life, Liberty, Goods and Honours (*k*).

Another good Fortune happened to the Confederates at this time; La Rochelle declared itself for their Party.

LIX.
La Rochelle declares for the Prince.

That City, one of the richest in the Kingdom by its Commerce, had much increased by the great Privileges which it enjoyed at that time. Lewis VIII had taken it from the English in the Year 1224. SAVARY DE MAULEON, Governour of Aquitain for the King of England, having been so basely treated by his Master's Ministers, who had sent to him full Chests of old Iron instead of Money, for paying his Garrison, was obliged to surrender it on the 28th of July (*l*). That City fell again into the hands of the English,

A short Account of that City.

(*k*) Thuan. lib. xlii. pag. 487—88—89. (*l*) Paulus Æmilius fol. 299, says that Mauleon was forced to stand his Tryal in England, being charged with having betrayed the Nation; he was acquitted.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

lish, in 1360, by the Treaty of *Bretigny (m)*. But in the Year 1372, they thought proper to change their Master, and submitted themselves to Charles V. King of France: They had premeditated the Expulsion of the English, and for that purpose, the Spanish Fleet was at the Bar. There was but the Castle that hindred them from executing their Design. The Mayor bethought of a Device: He invited to a Dinner the Captain of the Castle, and while he sat at Table, he delivered to him some Letters sealed up with King Edward's Seal, wherein the said Mayor feigned to read that his Majesty ordered them to muster the Garrison of the Castle and the Militia of the City. There was no such thing in the Letters, but, as the Captain could not read, he believed whatever the Mayor said, and commanded the Garrison to come out. The Mayor had laid some Ambushes behind some Ruins, that came out in good time and stopt the Garrison's way, and hindred them from coming again into the Castle. Twelve or fifteen Wretches that had remained in it, were very glad to capitulate. Then the wise Rochellese, before admitting the French into their City, made their Treaty with the King, and obtained the demolishing of the Castle. Besides that, they obtained so many Privileges, and such advantageous Terms, that all of them tended as much to set the City at liberty, as to make them change their Master (*n*). Now since that time the City remained under the Kings of France's Obedience; tho' in King Lewis XI's Reign, he gave it to Charles Duke of Berry, his Brother, as part of his Apennage, but he did not keep it long, for that Prince was wickedly poisoned by JOHN FAURE

VERSOIS,

(*m*) Thuan. lib. xlii. pag. 480. (*n*) Mezeray, 1. Partie Tom. II. pag. 704. 2d Part. Tom. III. pag. 60, 88, 89. Edit. d'Amst. 1673.

VERSOIS, a Benedictine, Abbot of *St. John d'Angely*, at the Instigation of Lewis XI, this happened in the Year 1471.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

Amongst the Privileges of that City, this was of very great Moment, viz. to be governed by Magistrates of their own Choice; there was a Council of an hundred Citizens called PAIRS and ESCHEVINS, by whom it was governed; out of that Council a Mayor was elected every Year, after Easter Holy-days; that Mayor was the first Magistrate after the Governor, or his Deputy, and had a great Authority in the City, for which reason he was changed every Year. Now it was the Custom, that the Citizens nominated three of the Council of the Hundred, to be presented to the Governor or to the King, who chose one of them to be Mayor for the ensuing Year. At this time the Lord of JARNAC was Governor of the City, and AMATEUR BLANDIN Mayor of it; this last gave notice to the King, that if he had a mind to preserve the City, he ought to take care lest TRUCHARD, who aspired to that Charge should not be admitted, because he was intimate with St. ERMINE, who adhered to the Prince, and was in his Army. Nevertheless it happened, that by Truchard's Shrewdness, and at Jarnac's and other Courtiers Recommendation, the said Truchard was elected Mayor, and a little after, having held secret Correspondence with the Prince, and St. Ermine being arrived, the City declared itself for the Prince, and on the 10th of February the Citizens promised upon their Oath to assist his Highness with all their Power. Since that time, to Lewis XIII. that City had been always considered as the strongest Bulwark of the Reformed in France. (o)

VOL. III.

P

I

(o) Thuaa lib. xlii. pag. 480, 81.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

LX.
*How the
Matters
stood in the
Southern
Provin-
ces.*

I shall not enter much further into the Particulars of this War, which was but of a very short Duration: I shall only observe that, generally speaking, the Confederates had better Success almost every where than their Adversaries. In *Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc*, Troops were raised by the Prince's Orders; that Commission had been given to D'ASSIER, Brother to the Count of Crussol, who having travelled thro' the *Bourbonese, Auvergne, Vivarais, &c.* exhorted them to be at their Ensigns on the appointed Day.

Sipierre, Son to the Count of Tendes, Governor of Provence, assembled his Troops near *Cisteron*, which Place Mouvans had seized upon by his Orders.

Montbrun assembled Troops in *Dauphiné*, and the *Dauphinese* with the *Provençals* were already assembled, in order to go by long Marches to the Prince's Assistance; when being desired by D'Assier, who had resolved to make himself Master of the Citadels of *Nimes* and *Montpelier*, they stayed till the said Lord had accomplished his Designs.

Nimes and *Montpelier* being secured, Sipierre came back with his Troops to *Cisteron*, because he understood that *Des Gordes* and *Maugiron* were in arms in the Neighbourhood.

Mean while the Viscounts *Burniquet, Montclair, Paulin, Rapin, Caumont, Serignan* and *Montagut*, were raising Troops in the Countries of *Rouergue, Quercy, Foix, Albigeois* and *Lauragais*, and having assembled seven thousand Men, they led them to *St. Fronton*, kept by the Royalists (who annoyed all the Country thereabout) and stormed the Place. From thence they joined with D'Assier, who having been desired by those of *Dauphiné* to assist them, went to *St. Marcellin* besieged by *Des Gordes* and *Maugiron*,

Maugiron, and forced in their way those of *Avignon* to forsake the Bridge of the *Holy Ghost*; they stormed St. Marcellin and put the Garrison to the Sword, and obliged Des Gordes and Maugiron to fly into Grenoble.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Poncenac and De Verbelais raised likewise three thousand Foot and 5 hundred Horse for the Prince's Service, in the Bourbonese, Maconnese, Auvergne, Forets and Baujeollese; and gave them Rendezvous for the Month of October. When they were assembled, they debated whether they should go directly and join the Prince, or whether they should wait to be joined by the Troops of Provence, Languedoc and Guienn. They resolved to stay; but lest they should disband, it was thought proper to lead them into the Maconnese and the Principality of Dombes. The Abby of *Clugny* redeemed it self for a Sum of Money, and the Liberty of some Reformed that were detained Prisoners. Then they came to *Sr. John*, which was kept by Charongeraux, and took it.

Poncenac being come back to *Pacaudiere* with the Troops, they advised what to do, and agreed to go into Dauphiné, and join their Forces with D'Aslier; but Lovese, a covetous Man, who had made himself Master of Macon, could not be persuaded to follow so good a Counsel, and paid very dear for his Obstinacy, being routed afterwards by the Duke of Nevers.

Poncenac marching thro' the Forez with seven hundred Foot and an hundred Horse, and de Verbelay with three hundred Horse and six hundred Foot, was routed by Terride at Champouilly, as he went to the Royal Camp with the Troops put under his Command by Montluc, and lost in that day three hundred Men; the rest capitulated for their Life, upon Promise that they would not take up Arms during this War, and

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. Poncenac escaped very narrowly; Verbelay was not present.

The Duke of Nevers having joined all his Troops, (the famous Baron Des Adrets was with him) had an Army of thirteen thousand Men; he came to Lyons, where having taken some Ammunition he proceeded to Mâcon, which was surrendered by Composition, from thence he went to Champaign and joined his Army with that of the Duke of Anjou.

As to Poncenac and Verbelay, having joined D'Assier, after the Fight of *Champouilly*, with the Remainder of their small Troop, he insisted much upon the necessity of marching without delay to join the Prince of Condé; but D'Assier being earnestly desired by the People of that Country not to forsake them, thought that it was not convenient for the Prince's Service to leave these Countries (*Dauphiné*) without Troops. Therefore he put a Garrison in *St. Andrew*, a Borough not far from *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, of three hundred Arquebusiers to oppose the Excursions of the Enemies on that side; but being gone, Des Adrets having assembled two thousand Foot and some light Horse, hastened to that Place, and battered it with his Artillery till he had made a large Breach; the Commander of the Place, expecting no Succour, and being acquainted with the violent Temper of his Aggressor, questioning not but that he would treat the Reformed as he had treated the Catholicks in the first Civil War, took a generous Resolution to open his way thro' his Enemies Camp Sword in hand, which he bravely executed at Midnight, with his Garrison and some of the Inhabitants, and made a great Slaughter of the Adressians, and with a very inconsiderable Loss of his own, he retreated to the nearest Garrison.

Mean

Mean while the Viscounts, with Mouvans and Poncenac, having obtained leave of D'Assier, led their Troops to the Prince of Condé. They were then six thousand Men, Horse and Foot, but they were reduced to four thousand, by the Desertion of the Gascoons, especially of those who being used to rob upon the Pyrenean Mountains, chose that loose way of living rather than another more strict.

The Viscounts having crossed the *Loire* at *St. Rambert*, came to *Ganat*, on the Frontiers of *Auvergne*. As they proceeded, and Poncenac being come to *Pont de Vic*, not far from *Cognac*, they discovered a Body of Royal Troops, consisting most part of Horse; then the Viscounts set their Army in array, and caused the Bridge of *Vic* to be broken, to the end that their Troops should put their Safety in their Hands rather than in their Legs. The two Armies engaged very soon, the Viscounts got the better and routed the Enemy, who lost above an hundred Horse; the Foot ran away, many were wounded, and several taken Prisoners; amongst whom La Forest de Beullon, an Officer; who, because he bragged of his Enormities, and the many shameful Abuses he had put upon all the Reformed Women that had fell in his hands, was most outrageously treated, and then put to death. But a thing happened which decreased the Joy of the Reformed; for as they returned to *Cognac*, where they had left their Baggage with a sufficient Guard to keep it, being not able to distinguish their Colours because the Night was very dark, they fell suddenly a fighting one against another, and fired their Pieces, whereby Sudaret, Provost of Forez, and Poncenac himself were unhappily killed; the Corpse of this last was decently buried in the Castle of *Changy*, not far off. But a little after, as Chau-

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. mont and Urfé, two Royalists, retreated, and passed that way, they caused the Corpse to be digged out of the Ground, and exposed it to the Outrages of their Soldiers; then they mangled it in the most inhuman manner.

LXI. *Orleans relieved.* After that, Mouvans and other Chiefs marched into Berry, where they arrived with great Difficulties, there having received Letters from the Princess of Condé, who desired their Assistance at Orleans, which was besieged by Martinengue, and where she, the Countess of Coligny, and many other Ladies of the Confederates were shut up with their Families; they hastened to their Relief, and at their approach, Martinengue raised the Siege, and retreated to Baugency, and from thence to Blois.

LXII. *Blois taken by Mouvans.* Mouvans having refreshed his Troops for some days at Orleans, seeing that they had increased in the way, to the number of five thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, thought himself in a Condition to make some considerable enterprize, therefore having took at *Orleans* two Guns and the necessary Ammunition, he went to besiege *Blois*; in his way thither he took *Baugency* without Resistance. *Blois* withstood not a long time, Mouvans having stormed one of the Suburbs and made a large Breach in the Walll; Richelieu was summoned to surrender the Place, which having refused, the Besiegers made another large Breach on another Side, then the Governor thought proper to come to a Parley, where, after many Altercations it was agreed, that the City should not be exposed to Plunder, and that the Garrison should come out with their Arms and Baggage. These Articles were ill observed; but then it was the Catholicks fault, who never thought themselves obliged to keep their Treaty with

with the Reformed, whenever they could break it with Impunity.

Blois being taken, Mouvans having left a Garrison in the City, proceeded to *Mont-richard*, but while he endeavoured to force that Place, he received Orders from the Prince to march directly to him (p).

In Guienn, Montluc with an incredible Diligence, seized upon *Leffoure*, from whence he drove Fontrailles, Governor thereof, who sided with the Prince; then in less than twenty nine days, having assembled an Army of about six thousand Men, Horse and Foot, he sent it to the King, as above said, under the Command of Ter ride. Then having received the King's Orders to besiege La Rochelle, tho' he was not in a Condition to execute that for want of Money, and other things necessary for such an Undertaking, nevertheless being come to *St. Macaire*, he exhorted the neighbouring Nobility not to be wanting to themselves, but to cheerfully undertake something that might be serviceable to their King, and redound to their own Glory; he made all the necessary Dispositions for preventing or stopping the Progress of the Confederates Party in all the Provinces under his Government; then he sent Madaillan in all haste to *Saintes*, with Orders to attack those of *Maran*, if they were still at *St. Sernin*, and to kill them all, to one, without Mercy, if he got the better of them; which Orders, Madaillan obeyed very faithfully. Then he himself came to *Mareennes*, where he met with Antony of Pons, Lord of that Place, and they made themselves Masters of the Islands adjacent, *Oleron*, *Allevert*, and *Ré*; where they used great Cruelties, sparing no body of what Age, Quality, or Sex soever. These were his Exploits in his

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

LXIII.
Montluc's Exploits in Guienn.

P 4 Govern-

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. Government, related more at large, and with great Encomiums by himself, in the 6th Book of his Memoirs.

The Reisters being joined with the Prince's Army, as abovesaid, it was unanimously agreed to carry the War to the Neighbourhood of Paris, because there was no better means than that to oblige their Enemies to come to some reasonable Agreement. The Prince and the Admiral were likewise very sensible that, in order to continue the War, they ought to be provided with Artillery, Powder, Money, and other Necessaries, which could not be got but from the Merchants and Tradesmen, and that they would be deprived of all these Things, unless they should come near Orleans, their Nurse; therefore they went back, being sure that the Royal Army would follow them by the side, as well for hindring them from seizing upon several Towns ill provided, or putting them under Contribution, as for observing and improving the Opportunity of surprizing some of their Troops (q).

At that time the Kingdom abounded with all manner of Provisions, nevertheless it was not easy to feed an Army of above twenty thousand Men, not paid, having but a few Carts to carry their Necessaries, marching in an Enemies Country, and in the midst of the Winter: But by the Wisdom and Prudence of their Chiefs, all these Difficulties were overcome. The Admiral was above all, very cautious to have the most expert Commissaries, and to find Waggons for carrying the Provisions. He was used to say that, *for forming such a Monster*, so he called an Army in the Civil Wars, *it was absolutely requisite to begin by the Belly*. Each Cornet had a Baker, and two Horses of Burden; and every day as soon as they were arrived

(q) La Noue Disc. Pol. & Militaires, pag. 893.

arrived at their Quarters, they baked a certain quantity of Bread to be distributed amongst the Regiments of Foot: When they seized upon any Town or Borough which abounded with Victuals, they set apart the said Provisions and delivered them to the Commissaries: The Cities that had no Garrison, redeemed themselves for a certain quantity of Provisions which they carried to the Army, and delivered them into the hands of the said Commissaries. Besides that, the Prizes and Booty made by the Troops, either of Horse or Foot, served for the private Uses of those who got them. As to their Quarters, the Prince and the Admiral ordered them in such a manner that the Army was equally sheltered against the bad Weather, and the Surprizes of the Enemy. As to their March, the several Bodies of the Army were appointed to be in such a Place at such an Hour, and dividing themselves into several Columns they marched thro' several Roads, whereby they went very far in a short time; and tho' that Method was not the best, because of the Dangers wherewith it might be attended, as La Nouë observes, nevertheless it was the most expedient at that time. The first Column that fronted the Enemy was of six hundred Light Horse, and six hundred Arquebusers strong. Marching in that order between *Joinville* and *Chaumont*, after having been oftentimes annoyed by the Garisons, they crossed the *Marne* at *Langres*, and came through *Burgundy* at the Fountain of the *Seine*. There they met with the Italians led by the Duke of Nevers, which he had put in several Places to oppose the Passage of the Confederates, or to retard their March, for which purpose they bethought themselves of this Device; they put a quantity of Galtrops and sharp Nails in the bottom of the River, at the

Place

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Place whereby they supposed that the Confederates were to cross; that the Horses being hurted, might tumble, and the Rider fall into the Water. But that Device had not the desired Success, for the first that came in to try the Ford, having at their own Peril discovered the Cheat, cleansed the River with proper Engines before the others crossed, and being much superior in number, they very easily executed their Design, notwithstanding all Oppositions of the Italians, which were pursued by the Prince's Orders, and many were killed, while the rest were routed. From thence they proceeded to *Auxerre*; and those of *Irancy* having killed one of the Cornets of the Prince, and refused Satisfaction, their Town was forced, and a most barbarous and inhuman Slaughter of almost all the Inhabitants ensued. Then having crossed the *Yonne* and *La Cure*, they came to *Bleneau*, *Chatillon* and *Montargis*; they crossed again the *Loin*, and entered into *Beaussé*, from whence the Prince was to go to *Orleans* to receive the Troops that were come from *Guienn*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*, some Guns and Ammunition necessary for the Siege of *Chartres*; but understanding that *Mouvans* had led them to *Mont-richard*, he sent thither for them, and their Forces being joined together, they besieged *Chartres* (r).

LXV.
*Siege of
Chartres.*

That City could not withstand long; and its loss was of a very great Prejudice to Paris, and indeed to the whole Royal Party. Therefore the Court renewed the Propositions of Peace. It is to be observed, that in all the Civil Wars of France, tho' the two Parties warred one against another, there was always some Treaty or other upon the Carpet to bring Matters to an Agreement.

(r) *La Noue* pag. 900, &c. *Thuan.* lib. xlii. pag. 490-495, &c.

ment. So the Cardinal of Chatillon was then sent with some other Gentlemen to meet with the King's Deputies at *Lonjumeau*; these were GONTAULT de Biron, afterwards Marshal of France, and HENRY DE MEMME, Lord of Malasse, Master of the Requests; the Articles having been debated between them; and the Lord Thomas SACVILLE, Baron of BUCKHURST, Embassador of *England*, and GUY CAVALCANTI of *Florence*, being Mediators, at last the Articles were agreed upon.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

These Articles may be all reduced to these four. 1. An intire Oblivion of whatever had been done on account of the last Troubles, the Prince and all his Adherents acknowledged for good and faithful Subjects to the King, &c. 2. The full Restoration of the Ambosian Edict to all its Intents and Purport, and the repealing of every thing under what Denomination soever, that had been published to the contrary, by way of Explanation, Reservation, Limitation, &c. 3. That all the Cities, Towns, Strong-holds, &c. seized upon by the Reformed during the last Troubles, should be restored to the King without any delay, &c. 4. That all foreign Troops, on both sides, should be dismissed, and all their Arrears and other things due unto them paid at the King's Charge.

Had the Reformed had more Patience they would have obtained better terms, at least some better Securities for the performance of this Treaty, than the bare word of a Prince who durst not do any thing but by the Advice of his Mother, who was intirely devoted to the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose cruel and ambitious Spirit was stiffly bent on the utter Destruction of the Reformed, tho' he knew very well that he could not compass his ends without exposing the whole Kingdom

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

dom to the very brink of its utter ruin. But most part of the Prince's Army longed after a Peace, and they behaved themselves in this juncture just as if the bare name of PEACE would have served the same Turn as the Reality of it.

And indeed, tho' it must be owned, that Peace is the most desirable thing in the World, that it was much necessary at this time, yet very few cared to be at the trouble of considering the nature of this, but the greatest number were for accepting of it. This obliged the Prince and the Admiral to condescend; it was, as it were, a Whirling wherewith they were carried off, True it is that the Prince had some Inclination to it, but the wise and prudent Admiral foresaw that the Treaty would never be kept, questioning not but the Court would take her Revenge for the Affront put upon her at Meaux. And even at that very time they had Intelligence enough by some Catholicks, great Babblers, by one of the Negotiators of the Peace, and by some Ladies at Court, to be upon their guard, lest they should be deceived by false Appearances, because no good was intended for them. But for all that, it was impossible to stem the Tide. One will think it very strange, that the Prince and the Admiral, who had so great an Ascendant over their Party, were not able to persuade them to what was best for them! But then, we must consider, what it is to have to deal with Volunteers, what an earnest Desire to see again a Family, after an Absence of several Months spent amidst the greatest Dangers. Besides that, they saw their Army weakening itself every day by frequent Desertion: The Troops of *Poitou* and *Xaintonge* were already gone without asking leave, and the rest were upon the point of following that example. How then could the Prince

keep

keep the Field, or do any thing that might rebound to the Advantage of his Party, either as to War or as to Peace? The Articles being signed on both sides, the Peace was proclaimed at Paris, and the Edict registred by the Parliament on the 27th of March 1568.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.



According to the Articles Prince Casimir with his Reisters were dismissed; but whereas there was no Money in the Exchequer to pay them, they would not go out of the Kingdom without it; and it was but after many Debates, big Words, Threatnings and Promises, that Castelnau obliged them to march out of France. The same Gentleman had been sent before to the Duke of Alva to give him Notice of the Conclusion of the Peace, and to thank him in the King's name for his Auxiliaries; but he was very coldly received by the Duke upon that account, that bloody Man thinking that the Court was in earnest, could not like to see the Kingdom in peace. *Soissons, Auxerre, Orleans, Blois, La Charité,* and several other places were restored to the King, and the Prince having disbanded his Army, every one went to his own home, where they lived not long without having just reasons to repent their Hastiness.

LXVII.
*How this
new Edict
was kept.*

RAPIN, one of the Prince's Gentlemen, was sent by the King at Thoulouze to have the Edict published and registred; but the Parliament, far from obeying the King's Orders, caused the Envoy to be put in Prison, tried, and publickly beheaded, upon some false pretence, but really out of Hatred against his Religion, whereof he had been a strenuous Defender in Languedoc. Upon the Prince's Complaints, the King feigned to be very angry at this unprecedented Impudence, and summoned the Parliament to send their Deputies to show Cause; but by length of time,

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

time, and especially the third civil War breaking out soon after, put an end to the Pursuits of the one, and the Perplexities of others. That Parliament could not be brought to comply till after the 4th Session.

On the King's side, not a tittle of the Articles agreed upon by the Treaty was fulfilled, besides the payment of the Reisters. He kept most part of the Troops he had at his Service; most part of them were kept on foot, and quartered in the Neighbourhood of Paris, strong Garisons were sent to Orleans, Tours, Amiens, &c. and others were sent to shut the passages of the Rivers. The Edict was no better observed, as to the Article of the free Profession of the Reformed Religion. But before we proceed any further, let us see how Matters stood in the Low Countries, and the Expedition of GOURGUES in the *West Indies* (s).

LXVIII.
Continuation of the Affairs of the Low Countries.

The Prince of Orange was too wise to wait the arrival of Alva; he knew too well the Temper of the Man to be willing to trust himself in his Hands, as the Counts of Egmont and Horn, who could not be persuaded by the Prince to provide for their own Security by flight, or to raise Troops for opposing his Entrance into the Low Countries; but chose rather to stay for his coming, and to do whatever was in their power to please the King. As to the Prince of Orange he went into Germany, and declared at his parting, That he would never attempt any thing against the King, unless he should be first attacked either in his Goods and Estates, or in his Honour; he made no mention of Religion, because, at that time, he was not resolved as to that point.

That

(s) Castelnau's Mem. liv. VI. ch. ii. Thuan. lib. XLII.

That great Prince's Absence caused a general Consternation amongst the Opposers to the Spanish Tyranny. *Antwerp* received a Garrison. The Reformed of *Holland* consented to be deprived of their Assemblies; provided that their Cities should be freed from Troops. BREDERODE came out of *Amsterdam*, and the Persecution began to rage more fiercely than before.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

A prodigious number of Families forsook their Countries. The Gibbets were full of Corpse, and *Germany* of Refugees. In the City of *Tournay* only, all the Goods of a hundred Merchants and several other wealthy Families, were seized upon. Many Ministers were put to death, and the Anabaptists were not less severely handled.

The Refugees in *Germany* published an Apology, complaining that they were unjustly charged with Heresy, since they had never been convicted of it by the Holy Scriptures, the only Rule of our Faith. They were already encreased to the number of a hundred thousand Persons.

Alva arrived at *Bruxelles* on the 28th of August 1567, having first quartered his Troops in the neighbouring Cities, he took his Lodging in *Culemburgh's* House, and went to pay a Visit to the Governess, unto whom he delivered some Letters written with Philip's own Hand; whereby he notified unto her, that Alva was charged with some private Commissions which he was to execute in the Low Countries. The Governess desired him to let her know what were those Commissions; but he scornfully laughed at her, and told her, that he had forgot what they were, unless he should look in his Pocket-book, which he had not with him at that time.

LXIX.
Alva's arrival at Bruxelles.

On the 9th of September he caused the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* to be arrested, with several other Persons of Distinction, whereupon he
sent

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. sent word to the Governess, that this was the secret Commission wherewith she had desired to be acquainted. At this News every one was seized with a fright, and twenty thousand more Inhabitants avoided the Country; amongst whom was THOMAS TILLIUS, Abbot of *St. Bernard* near *Antwerp*, who forsook his Abbey of sixty thousand Florins per Annum, and went into the Duchy of *Cleves*, where he married, and was afterwards Minister of *Harlem*, then at *Delft*, where he died. The Governess endeavoured in vain to put a stop to these Desertions by several Pla-carts; for Alva's base and cruel proceedings drew all the Attention of the People.

His base, brutish and cruel Proceedings. He had erected a new Court of Justice, which he called, *The Council of Tumults*; but was more properly stiled by the Inhabitants, THE COUNCIL OF BLOOD. The fundamental Maxims whereof were, that to remonstrate against the Erection of the new Bishopricks, the Inquisition, the Penal Laws, or to consent to the Profession of any new Religion, or to say, or to believe that the Holy Office was obliged to have any regard for the Charters and Privileges of the Country, or to affirm that the King was bound to his People by Promises and Oaths; it was a Crime of High Treason in the first degree.

The Temper of the Counsellors was no less terrible than their Principles, They were all Spaniards, having for their Chief the most execrable JOHN VARGAS. This last Monster was used to say, *Heretici fraxerunt Tempa: Boni nihil faxerunt contra. Ergo debent patibulari.* That is in better English than his Latin, *All the Inhabitants of these Countries deserve to be hanged; the Hereticks, because they have destroyed or plundered the Churches, and the Catholicks because they have not defended them.* The Spaniards under-

Understood very well how to depopulate Countries; they had tried their Skill in the *West Indies*; and what they intended to do in the *Low Countries* was no more than what they had done in *Peru*.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

Vargas spoke the Sense of the Inquisitors of Spain, if John Petit is to be credited; they had in the Year 1556 framed the following Articles.

Wicked and detestable Articles, and Decisions of the Spanish Inquisition.

The most Holy Office of Inquisition so many times attempted to be set up in the Low Countries by his Majesty, and till now opposed, shall be however set up, and promoted by this most expedient Method.

1. The Emperor † going astray, and wickedly confederating with the Hereticks, must be persuaded to resign unto his Son the Kingdoms and other his Dominions, and the whole Administration of the Low Countries.

† Charles V.

2. Then the Emperor with his two Sisters having resigned their Titles and Administration, shall depart the Low Countries, and come into Spain with us, that we might be sure, that they would never go back to hurt us.

3. These being put out of the way, we must likewise have the King with us, and keep him for ever, not allowing any Flemings to come near him, and less to speak to him.

4. The King shall write, and bid the Clergy and the several Orders of Fryars, to receive with the Inquisition fifteen new Bishops, which shall be freed from all secular Jurisdiction even in cases of High Treason.

5. The Subjects of the Low Countries by their Malice and Petulancy, will rebel, raise Seditions and Tumults.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

6. The Princes and the Nobles, Heads and Authors of these Factions, and their Subjects shall be taken out of the way, and others brought to reason.

7. Some Robbers and Image-breakers shall be hired at our own Charge, the Crime whereof shall be by all charged upon the Rebels by some cunning or other; and so we shall be Masters.

8. Let all Trade, Goods or Estates, Liberties, and Privileges, be intirely ruined, and let all the Rebels or Hereticks be reduced to the utmost Poverty, whereby we shall reign for ever.

9. None in the Low Countries shall be deemed worthy to live, but those who defend our Cause; but all others without exception shall be utterly extirpated.

10. The stout and brave Duke of Alva in Person shall be employed in that Office, and none other not even of the Royal Blood shall pretend to it; and if they are suspected the least in the World let them be taken out of the way.

11. No Contracts, Rights, Promises, Gifts, Oaths, Privileges, and solemn Assertions, of the Low Countries, shall avail any thing to the Inhabitants, being all guilty of High Treason.

12. But above all, one must be very careful not to proceed too hastily or suddenly in things of so great moment, but by degrees and orderly, to the end that the Nobles and Subjects should rebel, and that one should persecute the other. For in all Christendom there is no Nation so foolish and imprudent, and which might be so easily abused as the Flemish, God punishing by these Means their Unfaithfulness.

These Articles were sent in Latin from Spain, to James Hassels, Attorney-General of Flanders, whom we shall mention hereafter; he was one of the Council of the Tumults. They were
found

found translated into French, and written with his own Hand, amongst his Papers in the City of *Ghent*, when he was taken Prisoner, and then hanged out of the City in 1578. As to the Sentence of the Inquisition, the purport of which was, that all the Inhabitants of the Countries, those only excepted which had been recommended for their Loyalty, were all guilty of High Treason, the one for being Hereticks and Rebels, and the others for not having opposed them with all their Might, especially in the beginning; that Sentence was given at Madrid on the 16th of February 1568, and confirmed by Philip on the 26th of the same Month.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

The Governess was unwilling to be Spectatrix of all the Barbarities to be used, and having obtained Philip's leave, she resigned the Government unto Alva, and set out for *Italy*. After her Departure nothing was to be seen but *Fury* and *Slaughter*, Men and Women of all Ages and Conditions were imprisoned and put to the Rack. Many were put to death only for having been once or twice at the Reformed Meeting-house; eighteen hundred Persons were executed by the common Executioner in a short time. Every day brought forth some new Object of Sorrow and Mourning.

The Governess
resigns
the Govern-
ment.

Alva summoned the Prince of Orange, the Count Lewis of Nassau his Brother, the Counts of Hoghstrate, Bergue, and Culembourg, the Lord Brederode, and several others, and on their Non-appearance he proclaimed them Traitors to the King. They answered by a publick writing, and a few Years after the Prince published a Manifesto, wherein Philip's odious Character, and his tyrannical Government were set in their true light.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

LXX.
*The Prince
of Orange
raises an
Army.*

The People groaning under that hellish Yoke cried after a Deliverer; they saw none other but the Prince of Orange. Unto him therefore they made their Address; moved by their Petitions, he resolved to undertake their Defence. Having obtained leave from the Protestant Princes of Germany, he raised Troops in their Dominions; his first care was to find Money for that purpose. Some of these Princes advanced unto him a Sum. His Brother Ludovic did the same; and Gatherings were made in all the Churches of the Refugees in *London, Embden, Cleves*, and elsewhere. With this help the Prince delivered his Commissions, wherein he declared his Reasons for taking up Arms. The general Command of the Army was given to Count Ludovic, who took in his way, *Wedden* and *Dam* in *Guelderland*; and carried the Day in a Battle against the Enemy.

At this Alva grew almost mad, his innate Ferocity was provoked by the Shame of his Defeat; a great number of innocent Persons fell a Victim to his Fury. On the 28th of May he condemned to Banishment and Forfeiture of their Goods and Estates, the Prince of Orange, Ludovic his Brother, the Counts of Houghstrate, Culembourg, and Bergue. On the first of June the two Barons of Battembourg, with sixteen other Gentlemen, were beheaded at *Bruxelles* by his Orders; the next day the Lords Du Villers and Duy, the Bailiff of *Enguien*, and the Minister Cornelius de Meen underwent the same fate; and on the 5th of the same Month the illustrious Counts of Egmont and Horn were likewise beheaded: the first died a Catholick, he left three Sons and eight Daughters in very low Circumstances. It is said that the Count of Horn refused

refused to confess; and what Brantome relates is very observable if true, viz. That the Countess of Egmont, a very honest, wise and fair Lady, arrived that very same day at Brussels, to condole the Countess of Aremburg, whose Husband had been killed lately, and while she was in the said Countess's Room talking with her upon that Subject, one came to tell her that her Husband was going to be beheaded. Then Alva took the Field, and having attacked the Count Ludovic at a place called *Jemmingen in East-Friseland*, he routed him. That Victory cost very dear to many; Alva brought himself the News of it to *Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Bois-le-duc*; and every where he left the dreadful Marks of his Cruelty.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.



That was something less surprizing, when the News came of the lamentable death of Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, who was either strangled, or poisoned, or smothered between two Pillows; for the Historians do not agree as to the manner of his death, but they all own that the Sentence was given by the Inquisition, and executed by his own Father's Orders: and as to the Reasons, some say, that his Father suspected him to be too favourably inclined towards the pretended Rebels and Hereticks of the Low Countries, and was afraid lest he should go and put himself at their head. Others owning this Suspicion, add an inveterate Hatred of that Prince against Alva, and others of Philip's Ministers, and that even his Father's Life was threatened, because he always carried two small Pistols loaded in his Breeches Pockets. Others pretend that this was the effect of Jealousy, that this young Prince was too privy with Queen Elizabeth his Father's Consort, with whom he had been betrothed, before she was married to

LXXI.
Lamentable Death of Don Carlos, and Queen Elizabeth; of Peace.

Charles
IX.
1568
Pope Pius
V.

his Father. Few Months after the said Princess followed her Son-in-Law, she was with Child, and too many of her own French Servants certified her having been poisoned for questioning it; the Prince was twenty-three Years old, and the Queen of the very same Age, when both were taken out of the way.

Now that News increased, as naturally it ought to do, the dread the Provinces were in! for if Philip had not spared his own Son nor his Consort, what hopes could be left of finding any Commiseration in such an hard-hearted Man, for a People for which he had always shown the greatest Scorn? The Governour kept no bound at all, and his Inhumanity answered perfectly well what his Master expected of him when he chose him to be the Minister of his Passions. There were no Privileges, how just soever, which were not violated; no Pretences, how frivolous soever, which were not made use of against the most honest Men; no Tortures, no kind of Death, how new and extraordinary soever, which were not put in use.

LXXII.
*New kind
of Torture.*

And whereas the Martyrs suffered death with a wonderful Constancy, and that the Gaggs came out sometimes from their Mouths; they invented a dreadful Instrument to hinder them from speaking. They put the Martyr's Tongue betwixt two small Irons, and they burnt the end of it with a hot Iron. It swelled immediately, and became unmoveable, and rendered a confuse Sound near like that of the Phalarian Ox. It is impossible to put Human Patience to a greater Trial. But a Man truly persuaded that he serves God, bears patiently with it. Such a Man never fears the effects of the most dreadful Cruelty.

Mean

Mean while the Prince of Orange made all the necessary Preparations for penetrating into the Low Countries at the Head of a numerous Army, part whereof was compos'd of part of the German Auxiliaries dismiss'd by the Prince of Condé after the Peace. But having cross'd the Meuse, and finding every where the Enemies well intrench'd, and being himself in great want of Provisions, he was oblig'd to come back.

On the other hand, Coquaville and some other French Officers of the Reformed Religion having gather'd some Troops in *Artois* and *Flanders*, made Incurfions in the *Low Countries* in behalf of the Prince of Orange; Alva was provok'd at it, he complain'd of it to King Charles, by the Spanish Embassador; the King sent to the Prince of Condé to know whether it was by his Orders that Coquaville and others made those Incurfions; the Prince disown'd them, and the King gave Orders to the Marshal of Cossé to go and repress them; which he did, and he took Coquaville and the other Captains Prisoners at *St. Valery*; being sent to Paris, they were be-headed.

Alva being extoll'd by these Successes, he caus'd his own Statue to be erected in the Castle of *Antwerp*, and the Pope sent him as a Gift the Hat and the Sword which they us'd to bless every Year at Christmas. The pious and charitable Bishops of Rome made usually such Gifts to the Christian Princes that distinguish'd themselves by their Zeal for the service of the Church; and if it is to serve it to shed a flood of Blood, we must sincerely acknowledge that no body deserv'd better that token of Pius Vth's favour than Alva. In less time than a Year he had found the Secret to empty a hundred thousand Houses whose Inhabitants were fled, and had

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

LXXIII.
Coquaville
taken and
executed.

LXXIV.
Alva's
Pride.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

peopled the neighbouring Countries with the Subjects of his Master. No shadow of Justice could be seen in the Judges proceedings, and the Taxes increased every day.

LXXV.
*Horrid
Neglect in
the Admi-
nistration
of Justice*

As to the first point, it cannot be conceived how neglectful the Judges were, even in cases where Life was at stake, sometimes poor innocent People were condemned by Mistake, and when the Error was found out, Vargas would not allow to revise the Sentence, saying in a bantering manner, *that it was good for the Condemned to die innocent.* There was also amongst those Judges one JAMES HESSELS, a Civilian, who was always asleep while they were pleading the Causes; they were obliged to awaken him to deliver his Opinion, and that base Man, without knowing any thing of the Matter, voted always for death, right or wrong.

As to the Taxes and Imposts, Alva himself says in one of his Letters to Philip, *That out of the produce of them, there will be enough for making a golden Bar as big as his own Arm, and long enough to reach from BRUXELS to Spain.* At first he asked the hundredth upon all the Stocks, then the twentieth upon the Immoveables, and the tenth upon the Moveables, to be paid by the Seller. The States refusing to consent to such heavy Subsidies, were threatened to be punished for their past and present Disobedience; but before they came to these Extremities, they tried to obtain, by Craft, what they ran the hazard to lose otherwise. They promised under hand to the States of *Hainaut* and *Artois*, that they should be free from these Taxes, if by their Approbation they would set an Example to others. By that Device they engaged several Provinces to consent, however with this Restriction, that if a single Province opposed that
Pro-

Proposition, the consent of the others should not avail. The Province of *Utrecht* being inflexible the Scheme fell to the ground for that time, and they offered only a free Gift. But that Province was severely punished for its Obstinacy; they were much oppressed by Troops quartered upon them, who lived at discretion, and plundered every one, without sparing the Clergy; these things were done in the beginning of the Year 1569 (v).

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

And whereas for the future, the Infraction of the civil Privileges and Liberties of the Low Countries, occasioned the Troubles and Wars wherewith they were afflicted for so many Years, as much as Religion, we shall not dwell any longer upon that Subject, referring our Reader to the Histories of the Low Countries, written by Meteren, Petit, and others.

Only I shall observe, 1. That the Army which the Prince of Orange had levied, having mutinied, disbanded themselves, and of it remained only 1200 Horse, with whom the Prince and the Count Ludovic his Brother, joined the Duke of Deux-Ponts's Army, that came to the Succour of the Prince of Condé.

2. That Alva having filled up the measure of his Cruelties, and sensible that he was become the Object of the Hatred of all the People, and that by his late ill Success he was no less the Object of their Scorn, desired to be recalled, which his Master granted him, and he set out from *Bruxelles* on the 12th of December 1573. That bloody Monster lodging upon the Road at an Uncle's of the Prince of Orange, was not ashamed to glory himself, that during the time
of

(v) Thuan. lib. XLIII. Meteren, lib. III and IV. Petit. liv. IX and X. Abregé de l'Hist. de la Ref. écrite par Brandt, liv. VIII and IX.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

of his Administration he had caused above eighteen thousand People, of all Sexes and Ranks, to be put to death by the common Executioner's hands, besides those who had perished in the War. Whereupon Vargas added, *That the Low Countries would be lost by too great a Mildness.*

3. The Case of an honest Anabaptist, *RICHARD WILLIAMSON* by Name, deserves mostly to be recorded here: He was of *Asperen*, and being pursued in Winter-time by an Officer of Justice, he fled upon the Ice, which being not very thick as yet, he came over with great difficulty; but it broke under the feet of his Pursuer. Williamson seeing the danger his Enemy was in, came back to his Assistance, helped him out of the Water, and saved his Life at the peril of his own. The Officer moved with Gratitude for such a piece of Generosity, was willing to let him go; but the Burgmaster coming at that time, hindered him from it, so that Officer fearing lest he should pay his own Life for the escape of his Deliverer, brought that honest Man to Goal. He was condemned to be burnt alive on the 16th of May 1569. When the Fire was kindled out of the Town of *Asperen*, on the side of *Leerdam*, an Easterly Wind drove the Flames, insomuch that the upper part of the Body was not consumed, whereby the Martyr suffered the bitterest Pains, and was heard from afar off crying, *O Lord! O my God!* The chief Magistrate present at the Execution, moved at it, ordered the Executioner to put a speedy end to the Martyr's Sufferings; so died Williamson, whose Honesty, Virtue and Simplicity deserved a better fate.

4. We must lament the Frailty and Weakness of human Nature, while the Calvinists and Lutherans were equally exposed to the Teeth of the Wolves

Wolves who tore them to pieces, far from uniting themselves together against their common Enemy, they served as Instruments in his hands for compassing their Ruin by their Disputes, Divisions and Heats, about no fundamental Points.

All the wise and christian Remonstrances of the Prince of Orange, all his Intreaties availed nothing, their Pride prevailed above Reason and Religion; the burning of Hereticks (*that is, those who thought differently from them concerning Points not clearly revealed in the Scripture, or even not revealed at all*) was, it seems, the darling Doctrine of too many Divines in those days, hardly escaped themselves from the Flames. It was the Fashion of that Age; an ERASMUS, a MELANCTON, a CASSANDER, and some other of the same Character, were deemed Hereticks, at least Luke-warms, and without any Zeal for the Glory of God and the Honour of his Church, only because they had learned of our great Master, *to be meek and lowly in heart*; because they were careful *not to destroy him with their Meat for whom Christ died.*

During the Peace, one of the Admiral's chief Cares was to increase the Navigation and Trade of the Kingdom chiefly in the Countries of the NEW CONTINENT, and that as much for settling Colonies of Reformed in those Parts, as for the Honour of his Charge. For that purpose he had sent Villegagnon into Florida, as mentioned in our first Vol. Book II. but had been deceived by him. Some Years after, viz. in 1562, he sent one JOHN RIBAUD, with two Ships. This Captain landed happily at *Florida*, where he came by another Road than the Spaniards usually kept; when he had taken a view of the Country, made Alliance with several petty Princes, given Names to several Capes, Rivers and Gulphs, he built a

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.



LXXVI.
Gourgues's
Expedition
in the West
Indies.

Fort

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Fort at the end of the Streight of St. Helena, which he called after the King's Name, *Charles's Fort*, and leaving a Lieutenant with some Troops well armed, he put to Sail in order to come back to France, promising them to come again very soon with Recruits and a Supply of Necessaries.

But he could not be as good as his word, because of the Civil War, therefore wanting Provisions, they embarked again. About the middle of their Voyage they were so far pestered with Famine, that they killed one of their Companions who had been sick for a long while, and fed upon him. An English Ship happily met them, relieved them in their Distress, and brought them over to England.

The Admiral, who knew not that they had left their Fort, manned three Ships at Havre de Grace, to supply their Wants. RENE LAUDONNIERE commanded that Armament; he landed at the Gulph which Ribaud had named *May*, and made Alliance with some petty Princes; but as he fell sick, part of his Men, inticed by some Factious, obliged him to give them leave to go to *New Spain* for Provisions, and having taken a large Ship, immensely rich, on board whereof was the Governour of *Havannah*; they were afterwards surrounded in an Island, and all of them sold or carried into *Spain*.

That Piracy gave a specious Pretence to the Spaniards (who were already very jealous against the French that settled themselves in that Country) to fall upon them without showing any mercy. They pretended that these Lands belonged unto them, for they affirmed that they had been the first Discoverers of them. Tho' a *Venetian*, STEPHEN GABOT by Name, had been the first Discoverer under the Protection of Henry VII. of England, in the Year 1496,
long

long before their PONCE OF LEON, who gave to that Country the Name of *Florida*, because he landed there on Palm-Sunday, which in Spanish is *Florida*.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

As Laudonniere was upon the point of sailing back to France, he discovered seven Ships: It was the same John Ribaud. At the same time the Spaniards had sent thither one PETER DE MELANDEZ, with some Ships to hinder the settling of the French in those parts. Ribaud left the Fort with very few People in it, and put to sail in order to go and fight him. But he was overtaken with an Hurricane, whereby his Ships were split against the Rocks; the Crew having taken to their Boats came ashore, but fell into the hands of the Spaniards; who having made themselves Masters of the Fort, put them to death in such a barbarous and cruel manner, that none but Spaniards can be guilty of so great an Inhumanity, for they plucked out their Eyes, and sliced their Flesh by small pieces, saying that they treated them so, NOT AS FRENCH BUT AS LUTHERANS. Laudonniere having saved what he could of the poor Wretches, in Barges which he sent along the Coast, came back to France.

The King's Council being then almost *Spanialised*, took no care of avenging that Massacre. But a private Man, DOMINICK DE GOURGUES by Name, born at *Mont de Marsan* in Gascony, a very generous and courageous Man, who resenting the ill treatment he had received from the Spaniards, when having taken him Prisoner of War in Italy, had sent him to the Gallies, undertook to revenge his own and the Kingdom's Injury; he fitted out some Ships at his own Charge, selling for that purpose part of his Estate, and borrowing a Sum of his Brother,

Pre-

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

President of the Generality of Guienn, and man-
ned them with two hundred Soldiers and a hun-
dred Sailors, and having landed at *Florida*, he
joined with the Natives who groaned under the
tyrannical and barbarous Yoke of the Spaniards,
and took by Storm the Fort Charles, and two
others which they had built in two different
places. There were in them above eight hun-
dred Men. The Natives murdered all those
who thought to make their escape in the Woods,
and Gourgues caused all the rest who had sur-
rendered themselves at discretion, to be hanged
with this Motto, NOT AS SPANIARDS, BUT
AS PIRATES.

When he came back to France, the Avenger
of his Country, and the Deliverer of Florida, in-
stead of Praises and Recompences met with Ac-
cusers, and the utmost peril of his Life; the
Spanish Embassador prosecuted him with all his
Might, the King's Council were very willing to
give him all the Satisfaction he could desire;
therefore Gourgues was obliged to hide himself
till the Peace was made, and then the Admiral
and his Friends obtained his pardon (x).

LXXVII.
Captain
Peyrot's
Expedition
at Madera.

About the same time, PETER BERTRAND,
commonly called *Captain Peyrot*, Son to Blaise
Montluc, acquired no less Glory than Gourgues
in his Expedition, tho' he was not so successful
as he. He intended to build a Fort, whether
the Inhabitants would or no, in the first convenient
place he could meet in the Kingdoms of *Maci-
nengo*, or *Mozambick*, or *Melinda*, for securing
the French Trade in *Africa* and the *East Indies*,
which was for the most part in the hands of the
Portuguese. For that purpose he fitted out, at
his own Charge, three large Ships, and some
Barks, with twelve hundred Men; his Brother

FA.

(x) Thuan. Hist. lib. XLIV. p. 530—537.

FABIAN, and the youngest Son of the House of POMPADOUR went along with him.

Charles IX.

1568.

Pope Pius V.

Being cast by a Storm upon the Coasts of *Ma-deira*, the Crew had a mind to land to take in Water; the Portuguese fired their Guns at them, and sallied in order to cut them in pieces. Bertrand provoked at this Inhumanity, whereby the Laws of Nations were violated, as well as the Alliance that was settled between the two Crowns of *France* and *Portugal*, landed eight hundred Men, and directly marched against the Portuguese, while his Brother Fabian attacked them by the Rear, having surrounded them they were all killed. Then he marched directly to the Town, and having battered with his Cannon he took it by Storm, and plundered it: But as he was attacking the great Church, wherein part of the Garrison withstood still, he was wounded in the Thigh whereby he died a few days after.

So miscarried an attempt which would have proved no less useful than glorious. All his Followers were in great danger of their Lives when they came back to France; they were obliged for a long while to flee, or to live concealed; it was with much ado, that by Montluc's Interest and the Admiral's Power, who was always very zealous for whatever was conducive to the Honour and Glory of the French Nation, that they escaped the Sollicitations of the Portuguese Embassador, who prosecuted them in the King's Council as Pirates (y).

Those who had made the Treaty of Chartres intended not to keep it, but only to take better measures than they had done heretofore for destroying the Reformed, after they had disarmed them. Every where the Catholicks prosecuted to their utmost the Reformed, and far from enjoying

LXXIX.
Infractions of the last Edict of Peace.

(y) Thuan. *ibid.*

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

joying the benefit of the Peace and the Liberty of their Consciences, they were in a condition much worse than during the War. In less than three Months, more than *TENTHOUSAND* of them were publickly murdered and massacred in several Cities, as *Rouën, Amiens, Auxerre, Bourges, Issoudun, Troye, Orleans, Angers, Blois, Sens, Ligny*, and some other places; several were also condemned at *Clermont*, and burnt alive.

The People incited by the Preachers, and especially by the Jesuits, could not be kept in any Restraint, after having made Executions upon the Commons, they fell upon the Nobility. René Lord of Cipierre, Son to the Count of Tende, was inhumanly massacred at Frejus, with thirty of his Attendants, as he was coming from Nice, where he had been to pay a visit to the Duke of Savoy his Kinsman. The Lord of Amançay was murdered at his Castle-gate, where he was holding his Daughter, a young Child, in his Arms (2).

The News of these Violences arrived at La Rochelle just at the time that the wealthiest were resolved to open their Gates, and to receive the Marshal of Vielleville for their Governor, but then the Commons opposed that Design; and whereas the Court had taken almost no manner of Caution for hiding their Design from publick Notice, and that far from dismissing the foreign Troops, they endeavoured to increase them; several Cities refused to admit into them Royal Garrisons, of that Number were Montauban, Millaud, Sancerre, Alby, Castres, and some others. Besides that, they had great Reason to suspect that Pius V. one of the most zealous Sticklers for the Immunities of the Clergy, having granted a Bull to the King for alienating for

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(2) Idem, lib. XLIV. p. 544, &c. D'Aubigné liv. V. c. i.

a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns of yearly Church-Rents, in a time of Peace, such a Concession could not be intended for any other Design but to execute the Scheme of Bayonne for extirpating the Reformed. Furthermore, the Jesuits incensed the People by their execrable Tenets which they delivered in their Sermons, viz. *That Peace ought never to be made or consented to with Sectaries; that no body was obliged to keep Faith with them; that it was a pious and salutary thing to lay violent hands upon them; that all Christians ought to arm themselves against those Infidels; and to the Decree of the Council of CONSTANCE, they added several particular Examples out of the Holy History, such as that of the Levites, who at Moses's Command fell upon the Worshippers of the golden Calf, and killed many of them; that of Jehu who caused all the Priests of Baal, whom he had gathered together under the pretence of a Feast, to be murdered.* By these and other like Discourses, People, as abovesaid, were so far provoked, that they threatened the Reformed every where, bragging that they had but three Months longer to live, till the Harvest and the Vintage were over, and that after that, they would be all murdered; that the King, tho' he would, could never hinder them from executing their Designs, and if he undertook it they would dethrone him, put him in a Cloyster, and elect another (a).

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

The Prince was at this time at *Noyers*, a Castle belonging to the Princess his Consort, where having certain Intelligence that the Attempt made to surprize him being miscarried, the Marshal of Tavannes, Deputy Governour of Burgundy, assembled his Troops to take him forcibly, he wrote to his Friends all over the Kingdom,

LXXX.
*Devices of
the Queen
to sow Di-
vision a-
mongst the
Reformed.*

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

dom, to let them know the Danger he was in, and to exhort them to watch over themselves, and to be ready in case of need. Mean while the King, (or rather the Queen) issued out his Letters-Patent, whereby he ordered that the three hundred thousand Crowns which he had paid for dismissing the Germans that were come as Auxiliaries to the Prince, should be levied immediately upon the Reformed; however, (*in order to sow Divisions amongst them*) he declared, that he intended not that all the Reformed of his Kingdom should contribute towards the raising of that Sum, but only those who had joined themselves in Arms with the Prince.

His Highness being sensible that this was only some of his Enemies Devices, frequently complained of it by his Letters to the King, beseeching his Majesty to be moved with pity for his People, exhausted by the Civil Wars. The Admiral wrote to the same purpose to Margaret Duchess of Savoy, thinking that she had a great Interest at Court.

At the same time a Soldier having been taken as he was upon measuring the depth and breadth of the Ditches of the Castle of Noyers, the Prince sent Telligny to Court to complain of the Wrong done unto him by the abovesaid Letters, of the said Soldier's Attempt, of the many Murders and Massacres perpetrated, of the Plots laid against the Reformed, of the seditious Sermons of the Preachers, and so on; beseeching his Majesty to cause that the late Edict should be kept in all the Provinces.

Tho' the King was moved by these Complaints, and desired his Mother oftentimes to take care lest a Civil War should break out again, and that the Edicts should be religiously kept, or otherwise the Kingdom would be sub-
verted:

verted: Nevertheless, she guessing that these Requests of the King proceeded from the Chancellour de L'Hospital, represented to his Majesty that the Rebellion of the Rochelese (for so she stiled the just Defence of their Rights and Privileges) would be a bad Example to other Cities; and knowing that the said Chancellour was averse to all violent Designs and Resolutions, and that he had a great Influence over the King, she undertook to lessen him in his Majesty's Esteem by many false Reports, as if he countenanced in secret the Cause of the Reformed, telling him that nothing hindered him from publicly professing that Religion, but the Office he was invested with, seeing that his Wife, his Daughter, his Son-in-Law, his Grand-Children professed openly that Religion: and a thing happened at this time which gave a great weight to the Calumnies of his Enemies, viz.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

The abovesaid Bull of the Pope's for alienating 150 thousand Crowns of yearly Rent of Church-Goods, declaring the Use whereof, viz. for destroying the Reformed, or obliging them to reconcile themselves with the Church of Rome, Several of the King's Counsellors, at the head of whom the Chancellour was, opposed that Bull, because it supposed that a War against the Reformed had been for a long while before hatching; and that it was better that the Pope should send another Bull, and in the mean while to make use of this only as far as the present Case required. This Opinion of the Chancellour increased much the Suspicions against him. Therefore the Queen improving all Opportunities of rendering that great Man suspicious to the King, from that time his Majesty grew every day cooler towards him; and being not able to bear patiently with the Indignities put upon him on account of

LXXXI.
Chancellor
de L'Hospital
is disgraced.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

his Integrity and Stedfastness in whatever he thought the Duty of his Charge, he began to think of his Retreat ; and being gone to *Vignay*, a Country-house of his near *Estampes*, the Queen sent to him Peter Brulart one of her Secretaries to let him know that the King advised him to take rest, and deliver the Seals, which were given to John Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans, till his Majesty should dispose of them otherwise.

The Chancellour being removed from the Helm of the Government, the Queen began to act according to her own Will without any controul at all, and took the most violent Methods ; and whereas every thing was ready for making war upon the Reformed, in order to weaken their Forces, and to disunite them, she sent throughout the several Provinces of the Kingdom a set Form of an Oath to be taken by them, whereby they swore before God and in his Name, that they acknowledged Charles IX for their Sovereign and lawful King, and promised to pay unto him all manner of Honour, Obedience and Submission, and never to take up Arms unless by his express Command, or to countenance those who should take them up against him or assist them in any wise either by their Counsels, or Supplies of Money, Men, Provisions, or Ammunitions ; and to reveal to the King or his Governors whatever they shall discover concerning any Plot or Enterprize, &c. as soon as it came to their knowledge : and that they would beseech his Majesty with all Humility, that according to his innate Goodness and Clemency he would be pleased to use them as his faithful and most obedient Subjects, and receive them under his Royal Protection, and that they would put up Prayers to God for the Welfare and Prosperity of his Majesty, his Mother,
and

and his Brethren ; that they willingly submitted themselves to the most cruel Death, if any Disturbance should happen in the City, Town, Borough, &c. (expressly named in the Act) wherein they inhabit, by their own Fault ; and to do whatever lies in their power for its Defence, and for keeping a strict Correspondence and Friendship with the Catholicks of the said Place.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

The Prince looking upon this as a Snare laid for his own and the whole Reformed Body's destruction, avoided it partly by excusing himself from swearing upon such a Form, and partly by explaining the meaning of the Words he made use of. But having every day some new Intelligence of the Plots laid against him, he sent notice to the Admiral, who was come to *Tanlay* for his own and his Family's Security, and desired him to come and meet him at *Noyers*, and then they thought that their best way was to fly. And indeed they saw that the thirteen Companies of Horse and as many of Foot destined for the Siege of *La Rochelle*, had been then recalled into *Burgundy* ; and tho' *Telligny* had brought very civil Letters from Court, nevertheless he was pretty sure that no good could be expected from the Queen. However, the Prince not to be deficient in any thing that could be conducive to the keeping of the Peace, desired the Marchioness of *Rothelin* his Mother-in-law, to go to Court, in order to try whether she could divert the Storm wherewith he was threatned.

But she was no sooner gone than the Prince received Letters whereby he was warned to provide, without any further delay, for his own Security, and that if he did not improve the present Opportunity, it would be too late in two days ; that even now, very hardly would he escape the

LXXXII.
Attempts to seize the Prince and the Admiral.

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. threatening Danger he was in, being every where surrounded by his Enemies (*b*).

It is said that the Marshal de Tavanes, Deputy-Governor of Burgundy, had so great an Abhorrence of the Plot against the Prince and the Admiral, the Execution whereof had been committed to his Care, that having tried, but in vain, to dissuade the Queen from it, he resolved to discover cunningly the Intrigue to the Prince, that he might take his measures for making his escape, that for that end he ordered his Couriers to pass hard by *Noyers*, on purpose that his Letters might be intercepted by the Prince; which succeeded to his Wishes, for the Courier being stopt, these Words were found in the Packet, written with the Marshal's own Hand; THE STAG IS IN THE TOILS, THE GAME IS READY (*c*).

However, the Prince having conferred with the Admiral upon all these Advertisements, resolved to provide for their own Security by flight. But before they set out, he wrote to the King, and charged the Cardinal of Lorraine as the Author of all the Troubles and Miseries the Kingdom was involved in; that his turbulent and restless Spirit forced innocent People to fly from one Place to another for Safety, with their Children in the Cradle. To these Letters he added a Petition, wherein he complained of the manifold Infractions of the last Treaty, and set forth the innumerable Grievances of the Reformed; and declared that since the Cardinal was the Cause of all the Mischief, he and his Adherents were fully resolved to prosecute that Perjurer and common Enemy of the Country, with all their might. In order to conceal their Flight the better, the Prince having sent the Letters and Petition, feigned to give

(*b*) Thuan. Ibid. (*c*) Add. aux Mem. de Casteln liv. vi. p. 529. liv. vii. p. 576.

give out that he would stay till he had received the King's Answer.

And now let us consider a while, who has been the Author of the third Civil War, either the Catholicks or the Reformed. All the Catholick Historians of those days agree upon this, that the Treaty of *Chartres* had never been made with an Intent to keep it, but only to get time to prepare themselves for the better Execution of their Plot, which was impracticable as long as the Reformed were in Arms. Now, that such was their Design, is plain by their Conduct: For they did not follow even the common Rules which Prudence required in such a Case, to oblige the Reformed to trust themselves intirely upon their Word; but they acted so openly, and with so little Caution that they forced them whether they would or not, to be upon their Guard; they did not allow them time to disarm, but they began, as it were, while the Pen was still in their hands to sign the Treaty, to use them with the greatest Injustice and Cruelty in all Places where they were the strongest, as above said; they kept their Troops on foot, they augmented them, they garrisoned the Cities in the heart of the Kingdom, they guarded the Passages of the Rivers. In many Places, the Reformed, far from enjoying that Liberty of Conscience, were cruelly massacred; in others they were deprived of their Goods, Estates, Honours, and Offices, far from being restored to, much less maintained in the Possession of them. Was it then strange that the Reformed at *Montauban*, *Millaud*, and others, understanding how their Brethren were used in other Places, refused to trust themselves into their Enemies Hands, much less *La Rochelle*, which by the Privileges she enjoyed for two hundred Years, was not obliged to admit any Garrison from the King? Therefore it

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

LXXXIII
Causes of the third Civill War impartially considered.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

would be a great piece of Injustice to charge the Reformed with having been the first Infringers of the Treaty of *Chartres*. But let us hear the Judgment of a Man which cannot be challenged by the Catholicks, it is the PRIOR OF JUVIGNE', in his Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Book VII. Ch. I.

„ Since the Peace of *Chartres* the Prince of
 „ Condé had retired to his House at *Noyers*, in
 „ *Burgundy*, to give less Suspicion to the Court,
 „ living in a Province quite Catholick, governed
 „ by the Marshal of Tavannes, Deputy of the
 „ Duke of Aumale, and a Creature of the House
 „ of Lorraine. He thought that depriving him-
 „ self in that manner of the Opportunities and
 „ Means of attempting any thing, he would be
 „ free from all Suspicions: And indeed there was
 „ nothing to fear for the State; but his High-
 „ ness's Ruin being the chief Means of his Ene-
 „ mies Greatness, and the Pretence of Religion
 „ being too strong and powerful for neglecting to
 „ make use of it to the utmost, with the Pope's
 „ Approbation, and by the Counsels of the King
 „ of Spain, who backed all the Designs of the
 „ Cardinal of Lorraine, they very easily came to
 „ persuade themselves, that whatever they would
 „ do under so fair a Pretence, would be deemed
 „ a piece of PRUDENCE rather than a piece of
 „ INFIDELITY, and that it was only question to
 „ oppress a Party, which had divided the King-
 „ dom. To this they added that Politicks dis-
 „ pense the Princes with keeping Faith to their
 „ own Subjects, and that it was honourable to
 „ avenge themselves of a Treaty which they had
 „ been shamefully constrained to. But what is such
 „ a Policy other than a Prudence so refined, that
 „ it may be called, THE MALICE OF THE CHIL-
 „ DREN OF DARKNESS? What is it else than A

„ CHALLENGE AGAINST HONOUR AND FIDE-
 „ LITY? and by what other Authority can it be
 „ defended, BUT BY THE CABINET'S, WHERE
 „ EVERY ONE MINDS HIS OWN SELF-INTEREST,
 „ WHERE THERE IS ALWAYS SOME FACTION
 „ OR OTHER WHICH OVER-RULES THE STATE'S
 „ TRUE INTEREST? I shall not engage my self
 „ too far in that Matter, but I shall say, that few
 „ Sovereigns have broken their Faith with their
 „ Subjects without being blamed for it; and shall
 „ affirm again, that no such things had been seen
 „ under our first Kings, who thought it not a
 „ disparagement to them to treat with their Vas-
 „ sals, nay, to give them Pledges and Sureties
 „ for their Word, as any other private Man
 „ could have done. That was a Means of paci-
 „ fying the Troubles of the State, which hath
 „ always succeeded well, and I might make a
 „ large Book, would I relate all the Examples
 „ which the Titles of the Treasury, and of the
 „ Chamber of Accounts afford us upon that Sub-
 „ ject. Since that Method has been altered, a
 „ reciprocal Jealousy hath fomented all the Di-
 „ visions, and sometimes a Party has been obliged
 „ to prosecute by desperate Means the Differences
 „ wherein he had at first entered by Misfortune.
 „ There was another Method in Use in those
 „ days, even amongst Equals, *viz.* to take some
 „ Umpires for deciding, concerning any Breach
 „ of a Treaty sworn upon; but since now-a-days
 „ the Royal Word is the only Security of a Trea-
 „ ty, methinks it ought to be still more inviola-
 „ ble: And to be sure, it ought to have been so
 „ as to the Execution of the Treaty of Chartres,
 „ the Violation whereof exposed once again the
 „ Religion and the Kingdom to the greatest Dan-
 „ ger, as well as that of the Treaty of *Angers*,
 „ violated on *Bartholomew's-day*, without any o-
 „ ther

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

„ ther Success than to have revenged, by the loss
„ of the King's Honour, and at the State's Peril,
„ the Quarrels of a Cabal, which, by that means,
„ was put in a Condition of disputing the Crown
„ with the lawful Heir, and of continuing the
„ War till the latter end of the last Century (*d*).

Such are the Reflections of the most judicious Agricola, to which every sober Man will find himself obliged to subscribe whenever he shall have examined the Case impartially. It is evident by this, and by two or three other passages of the same Author, that while the Court was wholly intent to devise ways and means for surprizing and destroying the Reformed, with their Chief, in defiance of the most solemn Treaties sworn upon, the Prince was wholly intent to execute the Articles of it, and to see that his Adherents should do the same; that for that very purpose, and to avoid giving any Jealousy at Court he had chose to live in a Province, the Government whereof was in his mortal Enemies hands, and the Parliament whereof was entirely devoted to the Guisian Faction; where the Reformed were not the most powerful. In a word, where he was so closely surrounded by those who fought his Ruin, that had not God Almighty touched some of them with a Sense of Pity, he was utterly undone. Therefore this third Civil War cannot in any wise be charged upon the Reformed (*e*).

The

(*d*) Add. aux Mem. de Casteln. liv. VII. ch. i. p. 575, 76.

(*e*) The same Author speaking of the Marshal of Vielleville, Book IV. ch. vii. p. 154, 155, said, Brantome following the Court's Method, charges the said Marshal with a Correspondence with the Hugonots, and seems to blame him for having not pursued the Prince of Condé, who retreated, all out of order, with his Family, after they had miscarried in the Attempt to seize him at Noyers, WHERE

The Resolution being taken, and the Prince having sent the aboveſaid Letter and Petition to the King, he ſet out on the 25th of Auguſt, with the Princeſs his Conſort, who was with child, all his Family conſiſting of ſix Children, three whereof were in the Cradle, the Admiral with his Counteſs and their Children, ſome of whom were carried in their Nurſe's Arms, D'Andelot's Lady with a Child of two Years old, and ſome other Ladies, all attended with 150 or 60 Gendarmes. What a ſad Sight was this, a Prince and a Princeſs of the Blood in the condition ſhe was in, ſix ſmall Children in their ſwaddling Clothes, or in the Cradle, forced to run away in the dark, and through By-ways, expoſed to the bad Weather, having above two hundred and fifty Leagues, and ſo many Rivers to croſs in an Enemy's Country before they could find any place of Safety ! And all this, not for any Miſdemeanour or Crime

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

LXXXIV.
*The Prince
and the
Admiral's
eſcape, and
the third
Civil War.*

of

TREATY OF PEACE, WHILE HIS ENEMIES PLOTTED HIS AND HIS HOUSE'S RUIN AGAINST THE PUBLICK FAITH, and Book VI. p. 529, ſpeaking of the Marſhal of Tavannes, he ſays, that the Prince was unjuſtly proſecuted WHILE HE WAS FAITHFULLY EXECUTING THE PEACE THAT HAD BEEN SWORN WITH HIM. And Book VII. p. 551. ſpeaking of an Enterprize of the Court upon *La Rochelle*, he ſays, They ought then to have been intent only upon this Affair; but to undertake at one and the ſame time to ſeize the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and all the Chiefs of the Hugonot Party in every Province, and to ſpread a Net, as it were, as large as the Kingdom, THAT WAS A RASH ATTEMPT, if we will not term it AN INFIDELITY, which put the Kingdom in a worſe Condition than before, and FORCED the Hugonots TO DO OUT OF DESPAIR what they would never have preſumed to do with their own Strength. It was a Body full of Ears and Eyes, the firſt Sound or Light put it all in Motion, in an inſtant they received Notice, in an inſtant they were in a condition to join together, and eſpecially *La Rochelle* paſſed from Miſtruſt to a Defence, &c. All theſe Teſtimonies are ſufficient methinks to oblige us to caſt the blame and odium of this third Civil War upon the Court and the Guiſian Party.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

of their own, but only for gratifying the cruel Ambition of an unworthy Priest, and satiating the Rapacioufness of four or five other Wolves, that hunted after a Prey, and postponed the publick to their private Interest. But let us see the wonders whereby the Prince and his Company so narrowly escaped from the hands of their Enemies.

They went by long Marches, and crossed the *Loire* at a Ford over-against *Sancerre*. Hardly had they crossed, before the Troops of Burgundy, who pursued them, were discover'd at *St. Godon*, on the opposite Shore from whence they just came. The River was then fordable, and had their Enemies improved that Opportunity, it was impossible for them to escape; but the next Morning the River was swelled up to such a degree, that not only it could not be forded, but it was impossible to ferry over, so strong was the Current.

At this unexpected Accident whereby they were providentially delivered, the Prince and his Company, full of the same Gratitude which the antient Israelites had felt after the crossing of the *Red Sea*, fell on their Knees and gave their hearty thanks to God for this signal Protection, and sang the 114th Psalm.

Proceeding in their Journey, they were exposed to a new danger, as they went through *Poitou*, the Count of Lude and Montsalez sollicitated the Marshal of Vielleville then at *Poitiers*, to give them leave to go in pursuit of the Prince; but the Marshal denied them, saying, that he had no such Command from the King, and that he waited for his Orders upon that account. The Prince had thought proper to send Word unto the said Marshal, to take no notice of his passage, that he had been forced to fly from his House,

House, where he had been upon the point of being seized by his Enemies, and that he was going to Rochelle, from whence he would send him his Case more at large, and to the King too, desiring no better than to be his Majesty's faithful Subject and Servant, and to live in Peace and Safety where he could in some corner of the Kingdom. However, either because the said Marshal had some secret Inclination for the Reformed Religion, or because he was inwardly convinced of the Prince's Innocence, he never thought of opposing his passage, as he could have done easily.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Montluc, Governour of *Guienn*, and the King's Lieutenants in *Limosin* and *Perigord*, were in Arms for opposing his Passage; but he prevented them all, and arrived safe at *La Rochelle* on the 18th of September. The Queen of Navarr arrived at the same place a few days after, with her two Children, Henry Prince of Bearn, and Catharina. The Cardinal of Chatillon was at his Castle of *Bresle* in *Beauvoisis*, when he heard of the Prince's flight, and being in an Impossibility of going to join the Confederates, because he ought to cross several Provinces full of Enemies, he fled in a Sailor's disguise into England, where he was kindly received and entertained by Queen Elizabeth, and was very useful to the *CAUSE*.

The Prince was no sooner arrived at *La Rochelle* but many of the Reformed Nobility and Gentry came to him with Troops they had raised in their Country, and amongst their Vassals; I shall presently give a short account of a few of them. The Queen of Navarr had brought 4000 Men, Foot or Horse, along with her. D'Andelot who was in Britany had assembled almost the same number in the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, which were joined with

LXXXV.
*The Queen
of Navarr
with her
Children
and several
Lords
joined the
Prince at
Rochelle.*

Charles IX. with those of Montgomery, La Noüe, and some others.

1568.
Pope Pius V.

They all together, after some Skirmishes with the Viscount of Martigues, crossed the *Loire*, Montgomery having found a Ford, and without being opposed on this Occasion by the Duke of Montpensier, who commanded the King's Forces in those Parts.

LXXXVI. Both Parties; that is, the Royalist, or rather the Guisian, and the Reformed published their Manifesto's for justifying their Conduct. The Queen of Navarr wrote to the King, to the Queen-Mother, to the Duke of Anjou, and to her Brother-in-Law the Cardinal of Bourbon; this last she upbraided for Pusillanimity, and want of Sensibility for the many Affronts put upon him by the Cardinal of Lorraine, whereof, says she, he was become the Drudge, not being able to resent an Attempt of that impure Priest against his Life and that of the Duke of Montpensier. For it was confidently reported, that the Queen-Mother having been in danger of her Life in a late Sickness, the Cardinal of Lorraine had hired some Assassins to murder these two Princes as soon as the Queen would have expired, because he was afraid lest the King would not listen to his violent Counsels, as long as they would be alive, and that they both being dead, that would pave the way for his Nephew to the Throne; for he did not mind much the Princes of Bearn or Condé, because he was pretty sure to raise against them most part of the Kingdom, and to be assisted by Philip of Spain and the Pope, who would never suffer a Protestant or Reformed Prince to ascend the Throne of France, how just soever his Title could be (*f*).

The

(*f*) Thuanus, lib. xliv. p. 549.

The Prince drew a set Form of Oath, whereby he and all his Adherents engaged themselves never to lay down their Arms till they had obtained a full Redress of their Grievances, especially against the Cardinal of Lorraine, and that they would obey the Prince in every thing conducive to that end. He published a Manifesto to the same purpose.

Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V.

LXXXVII. *The Prince and his Adherents solemn Oath.*

On the other hand, the King published an Edict, whereby he declared, that he took all the Reformed of his Kingdom under his Protection, and promised to do them Justice for all the Injuries they had suffered ; provided they should live peaceably in their own Houses. The Snare was too grossly laid, very few were drawn into it. Therefore the Queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine, seeing that this would not serve their Turn, they published another quite contrary to this, whereby the publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion was expressly forbidden, and all the Ministers were ordered to depart the Kingdom in a Fortnight's time. By a third Edict all the Reformed who held any publick Employment or Office were ordered to resign the same into the King's hand, and the Parliament of Paris added this Clause of their own Accord, That from henceforward no body should be admitted to any publick Office, but those who would swear that they would live and die in the Roman Church.

LXXXVIII. *Edicts for and against the Reformed.*

During the Month of October the Prince and his Adherents made themselves Masters of all the places in *Aulnix, Saintonge, Angoumois and Poitou*; and they would have been more successful, had not their Troops, to the number of 25000 Men, coming from *Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Guienn*, under the Command of D'Assier, received a check as they came out from the Country

LXXXIX. *Several Transactions of both Parties till the latter end of this Year.*

of

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

of *Perigord*. Mouvans, an experienced and courageous Captain, but too much self-conceited, had taken his Quarters a little out of the way with three thousand Men, because of some misunderstanding between him and Beaudiner, Brother to D'Assier, Count of Crussol. The Duke of Montpensier, who had been in those Parts for opposing their junction with the Prince, gave Order to the young Count of Brissac to attack him while he himself should skirmish with D'Assier, that he might not come to his assistance. D'Assier knowing very well what they intended to do, sent word to Mouvans not to stir out from his Quarters for that day, because he was so well retrenched, that he could not be forced: but Mouvans followed not his Orders, for Brissac feigning to retreat, he came out of his Retrenchments the very same day, and fell into an Ambuscade ready laid for him in his way, where he was killed, with a thousand of his Men; the Remnant fled into the neighbouring Woods. D'Assier received a thousand of them on the next day, and the other thousand were either routed or killed by the Peasants.

When the Prince had joined D'Assier at *Aubeterre*, the Duke of Montpensier was obliged to retreat to *Chatelleraud*. When the Duke of Anjou the King's Brother, and Generalissimo of all his Armies, was come into the King's Army, it was found to consist of twenty-four thousand Foot and four thousand Horse; that of the Prince was of twenty-five thousand Foot and three thousand Horse strong, and all stout and resolute Men, who having forsaken their Families, Goods, and Estates, trusted only upon God and in the strength of their Arms.

For that reason the Prince sought after an opportunity of fighting the Duke of Anjou, and
pro-

provoked him to it; but for the very same reason the Duke of Anjou declined the Battel, however for his Honour's sake he was obliged to keep the Field. The sharpness of the Winter could not oblige either of them to go into Quarters, till their Troops, overcome by the extreme Cold, refused to fight any longer against Snow and Ice; above 8000 of both Parties died with Cold, and other Miseries they had undergone.

Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

The Queen of Navarr was very busy in making Provisions for discharging the Expences of the War, there was no Money in the Military Chest. Plunder was a thing not only very odious, but very precarious too in itself; and what the Reformed that remained in their own Houses, could spare for the common Cause, was very inconsiderable. Therefore her Majesty, on the 15th of October, had wrote to the generous Elizabeth Queen of England, and deputed unto her Chastelier Portaut, one of the Gentlemen of her Chamber, whereby she acquainted her with the true Motives of the present War, and desired her that since they did not wage War against the King, she would be pleased to grant them her Assistance in the Defence of so just a Cause wherein all the Protestant Powers were concerned, since it was for opposing the detestable Plot laid against them all in general at Bayonne, and since that time renewed in Lorraine, and that she would be pleased to receive herself and her Children under her Royal Protection, &c.

XC.
Provisions made by the Queen of Navarr.

These Intreaties, joined with those of the Cardinal Odet de Chatillon, then at the Court of England, were as efficacious as could be expected at that time, for Queen Elizabeth sent a hundred thousand gold Ducats, six large Guns, with other Ammunitions and Provisions. Castelnau says, that in order to reimburse her Ma-

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

jeſty, the Prince of Condé ſent to her a vaſt quantity of Metal, Bells, and Wool, but that is not likely; and the other Hiſtorian does not mention any ſuch thing. Beſides that, ſhe received and entertained very kindly the poor French Refugees that fled from *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Britany*, and other Provinces, and took Sanctuary in England.

The Queen of Navarr borrowed alſo twenty-fix thouſand Ducats from the Rocheleſe; Mezeray reckons but ſixteen thouſand; and La Hode, a modern Author, in his Annals of the Kings of France, ſays, that the Rocheleſe made a Gift of ſixty thouſand Crowns to the Prince. However, beſides all theſe Sums it was reſolved in the Council of the Princes to ſell the Church's Lands; and whereas they were poſſeſſed of ſeveral great Provinces, they raiſed by that means a very large Sum of Money; for tho' there was no great Security, nevertheleſs they met with many buyers, who were bold enough to venture their Money upon ſuch a ſlight Foundation.

XCI.
*The King
ſends ſeveral
Embafſies.*

The King had already deputed the Biſhop of Macon to the Pope, and Hannibal de Rucellai to the *Venetians*, and to the Dukes of *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, and *Florence*, to deſire them to lend him a Sum of Money, and Auxiliary Troops. And at the ſame time he ſent Anthony Fumée, Lord of Blandy, his Embaſſador to the Emperor, to complain of the Inſolency of his own Subjects who had again taken up Arms againſt him, and to deſire him to interpoſe his Authority, and not to ſuffer that the Prince of Condé ſhould receive any Auxiliaries, either Foot or Horſe, from Germany. Fumée had his firſt Audience on the 16th of October at Vienna. But the wiſe, prudent and good Maximilian II. diſmiſſed him with an Anſwer not much to his liking; for he told

told him, that he was vexed at his Heart to see the Kingdom of France exposed again to civil Commotions, whereby the Forces of Christendom, already much depressed by the Infidels Army, exhausted themselves more and more every day; therefore he thought very advisable to find out some ways and means for saving the Christian Blood, and settling a sincere and lasting Peace between the most Christian King and his Subjects, or otherwise he would find himself and his Kingdom involved in the greatest Inconveniencies and Troubles; the Rumour of his and his chief Counsellours Designs being already spread not only in Germany, but also in Britain, therefore he ought not to doubt the least in the World, but there would be several Princes not so far inconsiderable as to deserve to be despised, who, not only out of Inclination for the Prince of Condé's Party, but even out of Self-Interest, and for their common Preservation would assist him with Men and Money. As to what he required of him to oppose the inlisting and levying Troops in Germany for the Prince's Service, that could not be easily done, and was attended with many difficulties: for if the last Year, when the King's Cause seem'd more just, such Levies could not be hindered notwithstanding all possible diligence and care for that purpose, how could that be avoided now, when the Motive of the War was quite another thing, and that many thought it to be common with them and the King's Subjects (g)?

Fumée having received that Answer, went to Altembourg to John William of Saxony upon the same Errand as he had been to the Emperor; but he was answered on the 27th of November, that he was very sorry that the War

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
— V.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
-V.

was kindled again in France, and so much the more because he saw that one Party rejected the Cause of it upon RELIGION, and the other upon REBELLION; and yet by the express Command of God, Divine things ought to be parted from Human. That so had judged the most Christian Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, Martian, Justinian, Charlemaign, Lewis the Good, and of late John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, his most honoured Father. Therefore he thought that the King would do rightly and prudently, if he did not suffer that his Subjects should be exposed to any danger for their Religion's sake; for the effect of true Religion is not Sedition, but it enforces a lawful Obedience. As to the rest, the Princes of the Empire took very ill, what was publickly reported every where concerning an Alliance between the King of Spain and the Pope for the utter extirpation of the Protestants and the Reformed all over Europe, into which he heard that the King of France, by the Advice of his bad and corrupted Counsellors, was entered; that the King ought to consider well all these things, and that he would be always ready to assist him as his Ancestors had done, as far as his Conscience and Religion could allow it. So Fumée was dismissed on both sides without being able to prevail either upon the Emperor or upon the Duke of Saxony (*b*). Now while the two Armies are in their Winter-Quarters in France, I shall give a short Account of some of the most celebrated that had joined with the Prince.


XCH. Amongst several Lords that signalized themselves in the Reformed Party, CHARLES Lord of TELLIGNY is one of those that have deserved the greatest Esteem and Veneration. He

was

(*b*) Idem. ibidem.

was Grand-son to Lewis Lord de Telligny, de Lierville and du Chatelier, Seneschal of *Rouërge* and *Beaucaire*, Governor of the Milanese in the absence of the Lord of Lautrec, and Deputy-Governor of Theroüenne in the Year 1512, and was killed at the Siege of St. Quintin. His Son de Telligny, &c. inherited his Virtues as well as his Name : In his Youth he was made Standard-bearer to the Duke of Orleans, but he ran so far in debt for the support of his Rank, that he was obliged to depart the Kingdom, and retire to Venice, where he died. His Son, our Charles de Telligny, was so great a Proficient in all the Qualifications necessary for the Court and the Army, being endowed with such a Prudence and Sagacity, speaking in so agreeable and persuasive way, that he was, as it were, the Mercury of the State, and the perpetual Negotiator of all the Treaties of Peace. The Prince of Condé and the Admiral, to both whom he had the Honour to be allied by his Mother Artusia Vernon, Lady of Montreuil-Bonin, Granddaughter to Philippa of Montmorency, who was Aunt of Louisa of Montmorency, Mother to the Admiral de Coligny, and Grand-mother to Eleonor of Roze, the Prince's first Wife : The Prince, I say, and the Admiral intrusted him with all their Concerns, and the Queen-Mother was very kind to him, and heard him with pleasure, knowing that he was a very wise and prudent Man, much averse to all violent Counsels. But all his great and good Qualities could not save him on Bartholomew's-day, being singled out to be one of the first Victims that were to be sacrificed to the furious Ambition of the Guisians. His Crime was not only his being firmly adherent to the Reformed Religion, but chiefly his having married Louisa of Coligny,

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.



Charles IX.
1568.
Pope Pius V.

Daughter to the Admiral, who preferred the happiness of having a Son-in-Law so virtuous, and endowed with such great parts, to all the Fortunes in the World. He had premeditated this Marriage long before it was accomplished, as it appears by his Will made in 1569, wherein he says, *Item, according to what I have told my eldest Daughter, I do advise her for the reasons she knows, to marry Mr. de Telligny, for the goods and rare Parts that I have seen in him: and if she does so, I shall deem her very happy; however, I will not make use of my Authority on this Occasion, only I do advise her, as loving her so intirely as she knows that I do, I give that Counsel unto her, because I do really think that it will be for her Good and Satisfaction, which we must always prefer to the greatest Estates and Riches.* That Marriage was accomplished two Years after in 1571; and the next Year he was massacred, as abovesaid, without leaving any Issue. The Lady Telligny was married afterwards to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, as much for the sake of her own Perfections of Body and Mind, as for the sake of the most celebrated and respectable Name of the Admiral her Father; she had by that second Marriage Henry Frederick of Nassau Prince of Orange, Grand-father to King William of glorious and immortal Memory (j).

Of the Vidame of Chartres.

JOHN of FERRIERES, Lord of Maligny, of an illustrious House in Burgundy, Son to the Sister of Francis of Vendôme, Vidame of Chartres, whereof mention had been made in our first Vol. inherited not only the Principality of Chabannois, and all other Estates, but also the Religion of his Uncle, and his Inclination and Adherence to the Reformed Party. He was valiant

(j) Add. aux. Mem. de Casteln. liv. VII. p. 577, &c.

valiant, magnanimous, bold in his Undertakings, and zealous for his Religion as well as his Lady Charles IX. 1568. Pope Pius V. Frances's Joubert.

CHARLES of BEAUMANOIR, Baron of LAVARDIN, brought to the Prince for the present War four Cornets of Horse, and two Companies of Arquebusers, which he levied in the *Maine*, and the adjacent Countries, where the greatness of his House made him the most considerable Chief of the Reformed in those Parts. His Name was one of the most illustrious in Britany, and his Family one of the ancientest, his Credit and Valour were such that he was one of the first Proscrits on Bartholomew's-day. His Son John of Beaumanoir, Baron of Lavardin, abjured the Religion of his Father, and served King Charles and King Henry the III^d, in the Civil Wars; but whereas this last did not recompence him as he thought he deserved, he forsook him and adhered to the King of Navarr, whom he followed in all his Wars, and obtained from him when King of France the Marshal's Staff, and the Governments of *Maine*, and of the Counties of *Laval* and *Perche* (1).

JAMES of CRUSSOL, Baron of Affier, afterwards Duke of Uzès, Count of *Crussol*, Knight of the King's Orders, Lieutenant-General of his Armies in *Languedoc*, made himself so famous in his time under the two Names of *Crussol*, Baron of *Affier*; and Duke of *Uzès*, and in the two Parties which he followed, that he deserves to be taken notice of.

As Baron of *Affier*, and a Reformed, he was one of the most considerable Lords of that Party; and as Duke of *Uzès*, and a Catholick, he was the King's General in *Languedoc*.

There is a very notable Particularity in his House, which is scarce to be found in any other

(1) All this is extracted out of *Agrico'a*, Book VII. c. i.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

of the Kingdom of France, and that is that from the Year eleven hundred to the middle of the 17th Century, which contains eighteen degrees of Generation, tho' it had been very teeming with Males; nevertheless it is not known that it had ever been divided in Branches. For which reason that illustrious Name was in great danger of being extinct in this James, Baron of *Affier*, who was so often exposed in the Civil Wars. He was the third of six Brethren, whereof only one left a Daughter, which died unmarried. His Father Charles, Viscount of *Uzés*, Lord of *Crussol*, of *Leois* and *Florenfac*, Counsellor and Chambellan to the King, and Great Pantler of France, had married Jane of *Genouillac*, only Daughter of James Galiot, Lord of *Affier*, Great Master of the Artillery, and Great Standard-Bearer of France, Knight of the King's Order; who ordered by his last Will that the Male Issue of his Daughter, as Lords of *Affier*, should, in remembrance of him, take the Arms of *Galiot* and *Genouillac*, with those of their own House.

James of *Crussol* married Frances of *Clermont*, Daughter of Anthony, Viscount of *Talhard*, &c. and Niece of Louisa of *Clermont*, first Wife of Anthony of *Crussol*, first Duke of *Uzés*, his eldest Brother, who being dead without Male Issue, James succeeded to his Titles and Estate. As to his Religion he professed the Reformed till the beginning of the Reign of Henry III. I cannot tell whether he had been brought up in it from the Cradle, or whether the Example of his Brother the Duke of *Uzés*, and especially of his Sister-in-Law, a great Stickler for it at the Court of Francis II, and Charles IX, had any influence upon him; but if the Cardinal of *St. Croix* is to be credited, he was but very fickle
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in it, and waited only to recant, till the Pope should take some Steps towards him (*m*): And according to Agricola it is very difficult to determine whether there was no more temporal Concerns in his Change than Zeal; for, says he, if his Conduct was thoroughly examined, most part of it must be ascribed to a necessity of Conveniency for improving the favour of Henry III. and gratifying the desire he had to obtain the Government of Languedoc. But if we judge of his Designs by the Success, the Sincerity of his Change will be the more questioned, because the Marshal of Damville, afterwards Duke of Montmorency and Constable of France, in order to maintain himself in that Government, was obliged to come to an Agreement with the Reformed, that they might together defend themselves against the said Duke, who attempted to ruin them both, that he might build his Grandeur upon their Decay. But he was mistaken in his Account, for tho' a Catholick, and supported

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

(*m*) Lettres du Card. de St. Croix au Cardin. Borromée Lettre 47. But this Letter is so nonsensical, that either it is spurious, or the Cardinal was misinformed: for example, he says, that the said Lord had promised him in a Conference he had with him, that far from countenancing he would oppose all those who should side against the Pope; this he writes from Avignon the 12th of October 1564. Now it is certain, that from the Year 1560 to 1575 the said Lord has always supported with all his Might the Reformed Party every where in Provence, Dauphiné and Languedoc, without ever deviating a moment; again, the same St. Croix makes him to say, that he had never heard any of the Hugonots Sermons, nor received the Sacrament amongst them, nor signed any thing concerning their Religion, &c. But whoever knows a little of the manners of those days, will no more believe this, than what he says in the same Letter concerning a Conversation passed between him and Smith the English Embassador, who told him that he had a mind to keep a stricter Correspondence with him than his Predecessors; whereby it might be, that some Agreement would be found between Queen Elizabeth and the Pope.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

ported by the King's Authority, tho' his Titles and Dignities were increased, yet he found himself actually weaker than when he was but Baron of Assier; and that in the quality of Chief of the Reformed in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné he had Interest enough to put on foot an Army of twenty two thousand Men picked up out of the best Militia of the Kingdom, and were very serviceable to the CAUSE in this present War, and at a time when the Reformed seemed so inconsiderable, that it was then asked in a banter, whether there were some Hugonots left besides those of *Rockelle*? However, this Lord was a most wise, prudent and brave Captain, but an ambitious Man; he died in September 1584, and was succeeded in his Titles and Estates by his Son EMANUEL, Count of *Crussol*, Duke of *Uzés*, Prince of *Assier*, Baron of *Levis* and *Florensac*, &c. who died in 1657.

Of Paul de
Mouvans,
Montbrun,
and *Pierre-*
Gourde.

We have spoke already of this Gentleman in the second Book of our first Vol. as well as of the Lord of *Montbrun*. They both had exiled themselves from France during the latter part of the Reign of Francis II. they came back into France little before the first Civil War broke out, and acquired a great Reputation in the Reformed Party, on account of their Courage and Prudence in the management of Affairs where-with they were intrusted. I refer to the next Book the Account of *Montbrun*; and as to *Mouvans* and *Pierre-Gourde*, the first was always very zealous for his Party. *Brantome* says, that when the Rumour was spread, that the Duke of *Alva* was going to besiege *Geneva*, *Mouvans* went to that City's Assistance, with a Regiment of 7 or 800 stout Men of his own chusing, and that that News being brought to the Duke, it was thought that his Ardour was cooled

cooled by it, and that it diverted him from his Undertaking. The same Author reckons him amongst the greatest Captains of his Age, after several great and glorious Feats of him in Provence, Dauphiné and Languedoc, he came to die at *Messignac* in *Perigord*, and it was by his fault, as abovesaid, *Pierre-Gourde* shared the same fate, at the same place, but *Mouvans's* Corpse could never be found in the Field after the Battle; he was much bewailed by the Prince and the Admiral who had a great value for him (*n*).

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

The Lord Francis de la Noüe has had so great a share in all the Transactions of this and Henry III's Reign, and the beginning of Henry IV. that I think myself obliged to give here some Account of that Great Man. He was born in the Year 1531. His House was one of the ancientest in Britany, and of such a Nobility that William de la Noüe was chosen in the Year 1200 by the Duchess of Britany to be one of the twelve Knights Britons that were to fight against a like number of English Knights, for deciding the Quarrels subsisting between the two Nations; and it was decided in behalf of the Britons, by la Noüe's bravery, who was the only one of the twenty-four that remained alive. His Branch was distinguished from the other of the same Name, by the surname of *Briort*, since that Estate was come into his Family by the Marriage of Francis de la Noüe, de *Chavannes* and de *Duault*, his Father, with Bonaventura l'Épervier, Daughter to Francis, Lord of *la Bouvardiere*, and of *Briort*, and Grand-daughter to Arthur l'Épervier, Lord of *la Bouvardiere*, and to Frances Landais, Daughter to Peter Landais, that wicked and unworthy Favourite of Francis II.

Of Francis
la Noüe,
surnamed
Iron-Arm.

Duke

(*n*) Add. aux Mem. de Castel. liv. VII.

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Duke of Britany, who while in the height of his favour settled his own Sister and two of his Daughters in the best Families of Britany, out of whom are issued some of the greatest Men in France. And this I do observe as an Instance of the Vicissitude of Fortune, which raised up a Taylor, Son to a Taylor, much over and above the Barons of Britany, and cast him down from the top of his Grandeur, and of the Gibbet, only after he had procured the most honourable Settlements to his Family; whereby he shared, as it were, the Glory of a Posterity most illustrious by their Virtues, as well as by their high Station. Another Revolution most remarkable in our la Noüe's Family, is, that his Grandfather on his Mother's side, after his Wife's death, turned a Dominican Fryar, and was a great Benefactor to his Order, but in the mean while a violent Persecutor of the Reformed, whereof his Grandson became one of their most generous Defenders.

Tho' he was born under the Reign of Francis I. the Restorer of Sciences, nevertheless he was educated like other Noblemen had been before that time, that is, he learned to read and to write, and his Exercises, to fence, to dance, and to ride; so whatever he knew in the Sciences, and in the Languages, wherein he was a great Proficient, he acquired it by his own private Application, by reading of the best Books, and the strength of his Mind, and his excellent Understanding. It must be after his coming back from his Travels, about the Year 1558, that he renounced the Roman Religion, and adhered to the Reformed, to his last breath. He made himself very conspicuous for his Courage, whereof he gave so many Instances; and for his great Experience in civil and military Affairs. His Pru-

Prudence and Sagacity, his Moderation, and Probity, his Evenness of Temper and Impartiality were such, that both Parties had an equal Confidence in him, and was often chose as an Umpire for deciding the Differences between them; but especially in the Reign of Henry III. when the Court and the Kingdom were divided into several Factions, la Noüe was always one of the chief Men singled out for adjusting the Differences between the King and his Brother of Alençon. He was so far Master of his Resentment, that he scorned to revenge the Affronts undeservedly put upon him, tho' he had it in his power to do it in the most solemn manner, a great Instance whereof he gave at Rochelle during the Siege. After the breaking up of a Council held for examining whether they ought to accept the Propositions of Peace tendered unto them by the Court; a Minister named LA PLACE, (one of those who waited at the Town-house Gate, to know what would be the Deliberation upon an Affair of so great Moment) understanding that la Noüe had been for accepting, followed him in the Streets as he went to his Lodgings, and upbraided him for his Counsels, with the greatest Violence, calling him *Traitor, Perfidious, Deserter*, and tho' la Noüe answered him with the greatest Mildness and Civility, that furious Madman was deaf to all manner of Arguments, and hearkening to his Passion, he came nearer to him, and was so impudent, nay, so brutish, as to give him a box on the Ear. Some Gentlemen that attended him, provoked at that Outrage, undertook to punish him for it as he deserved; but la Noüe, not moved by it, hindered them, and brought himself that unworthy Minister to his House, and recommended him strictly to his Wife. The same Man did afterwards several

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

other

Charles
IX.
1568
Pope Pius
V.

other scandalous things, for which he was deposed. He was of a strict Equity, and tho' he would not have been blamed had he lived at discretion upon the Road, as many others of his and even of a greater Quality did, nevertheless he never made any use of his right to the Prejudice of the Farmers or Inn-keepers, but every where he paid constantly for whatever he took for him or his Attendants; or if the Landlord was not at home, and had forsaken his House out of fright, he left the Money in some corner of the House, that it might be found by him. Whereupon I shall relate an Instance of his Generosity and Equity together. He had lodged in some place, and as he was ready to set out, he gave Orders to his Steward to pay the Reckoning; the Steward told him, that there was no Money in his hands. Then he bid him to sell one of his Horses, and to pay the Landlord out of the Money that should be received. The Horse was publickly sold in that place, and when the Steward was come back, la Noüe asked him, how much the Horse had been sold for; a hundred Crowns, says he, to such a one, whom he named, and who was a very honest Man: *A hundred Crowns!* replies la Noüe, *it is too much; I paid but four-score for him, and I have made use of him for a long time; and the Buyer being an honest Man, does not deserve to be cheated in that Manner; go and return unto him twenty-five Crowns.* He was also very strict in his Devotions; but it happened one Night in 1575, when the Army led by Prince Casimir had joined with the King of Navarr's Army, that Du Pleffis Mornay, the Viscount of Turenne, and la Noüe, having treated the Prince, with his chief Officers, at Supper, they drank plentifully; after Supper these three Gentlemen who lodged together in
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the same room, before they went to bed, had a mind to say their Prayers, as they usually did every Night by turns; it was the Viscount's turn to do it that Night, but being kneeled down, and having begun, he was out immediately and could not go on, whereupon he desired la Noüe to take his turn, which he did; but scarce had he uttered two Periods, that the same thing happened to him as to the Viscount; so turning to Du Pleffis he desired him to go on; but this Gentleman who was in no better condition than they, told them, *Gentlemen, let us go to bed, and let every one pray for himself in the Bed, and another time we will follow our Order.*

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

Tho' wise, courageous, and experienced, yet, generally speaking he was not fortunate, for he was very often taken Prisoner of War, and in this next Campaign he was so terribly wounded in his left Arm before Fontenay, that he was obliged to have it cut off, in order to save his Life; and it is observable that the Queen of Navarr herself held him by that Arm, while the Surgeon made the Operation; an expert Workman made for him an Iron Arm, which was so artificially contrived, that he was able to hold the Bridle and manage his Horse with it. He was detained Prisoner of War by the Spaniards in *Flanders* for five Years together, as I have said in the Preface of my second Vol. p. 24. and whereas I shall have occasion to speak oftentimes of him in the sequel of this History, I shall not now insist any longer upon his Feats. As he was at the Siege of *Lamballe*, looking in the dark over the breach, the Enemies discovering him, fired at him, and a Bullet grazed upon his Forehead; and as he was beckoning to his Troops with his right Hand, his Iron Arm was not strong enough to support him, so he fell down from the Ladder and fractured

Charles
IX.
1568.
Pope Pius
V.

fractured his Skull; he was carried away to his Quarters almost dead, and was in a Swoon for an Hour, then he was carried to *Montcontour*, and suffered in his Head such intolerable Pains that the Surgeons were of Opinion to trepan him. But one of them, to whom la Noüe trusted much, promised with great Assurance, that he would cure him in a few days without it. At last, the 15th day after his Wound, seeing that his Pains continued, and that for want of Rest his Strength was spent, he desired one of his Friends to read by him, and three days after he died, with all the Demonstrations of a true and unfeigned Piety. He was in the 60th Year of his Age. Thuanus says of him, That he was truly a great Man, and who by his Courage, Prudence and Experience in military Affairs, was to be paralleled with the greatest Captains of his time; but that he was far above most part of them, by the Innocence of his Life, his Moderation and Equity. Witness the large Debts which he left behind him; and which he had contracted, not for gratifying Luxury, a Vice which he abhorred to the utmost, tho' naturally he was generous and bountiful, but for the Necessities of the War, wherein he employed his Life for the Defence of the State and of his Religion. He had two Sons, Odet and Theophilus de la Noüe de Telligny; by his Wife Magdalen de Telligny, Sister to Charles de Telligny, mentioned above; and the eldest sold part of his Estate to discharge all the Debts of his Father (o).

XCIII.
*Propositions
of Peace.*

While the Troops were in their Winter-Quarters, the Queen being sensible that it would not be an easy matter to execute the Plot of *Bayonne*,

(o) Addit. aux Mem. de Castel. liv. VII. p. 580, 581. Amirault, vie de François de la Noüe dit Bras-de-Fer. Leyden 1661. Thuan. Hist. lib. CII. p. 176, 177.

Bayonne, as long as the Reformed were in Arms, endeavoured to raise that Obstacle which so mightily opposed his Designs, and feigned to be willing to come to some Agreement with the Prince. For that end she sent to his Highness one Portail with some Overtures for a Treaty ; but after several Debates they could not agree, and the Messenger went back with nothing else but Compliments for their Majesties ; so both Parties prepared themselves for the next Campaign.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Amongst other Provisions which the Prince had made for discharging the Expences of the War, he had fitted out a Fleet at La Rochelle, being invited to it by the Situation of the place ; it was composed of Nine Sail, and some light Ships, or Pinnaces, he manned them with a thousand either Sailors or Soldiers, and gave the Command of it to one LATOUR, youngest Brother to Chatelier du Portail ; he had put to sea on the 10th of October 1568, and had made several very rich Prizes upon the Flemings, Britons and Normans ; and having sailed beyond the Haven of *Conquest* in Britany, as all the Country People run in Arms along that Shore, he landed at *Plymouth*, from whence he went Post with some Noblemen to *Hampton-Court*, where Queen Elizabeth was at that time, and by the means of Cardinal of Chatillon he was empowered to attack, under her Majesty's Protection and Name, the French and the Flemings upon Sea ; and that whatever he could seize upon them, should be declared a lawful Prize with the Cardinal's Approbation, and what Sum should proceed from those Prizes, should be laid out for the use of the CAUSE (*p*), which was of a vast advantage to the Prince and the Reformed Party.

XCIV.
A Fleet fitted out by the Prince.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

I do not intend to enter into all the Particulars of this, nor of the following Wars, which could not be done without increasing the Volumes far beyond the Number I have proposed; I shall single out only some of the most remarkable Events for brevity sake.

XCIV.
St. Michael's Monastery destroyed.

The Rochelese having obtained leave of the Prince, assaulted the Monastery of St. Michael in Poitou, which they had already assaulted twice before, but at last it was stormed after many Labours; the Plunder was inestimable, because many of the Nobility and Gentry in the Neighbourhood had sent thither their best Moveables for a greater Safety. The Slaughter was cruel and barbarous, above 400 Monks or Soldiers that defended the place were killed, and even murdered, several of them, in cool blood; the Monastery itself was pulled down to the Ground lest the Royalists should take possession of it, and annoy the adjacent Country, as the Monks had done before (q).

XCVI.
Sancerre besieged in vain.

About the same time Martinengue Governor of *Gien*, Entragues Governor of *Orleans*, and de la Châtre Bailiff of *Berry*, besieged *Sancerre* for the King, with three thousand Foot, some Horse, and eight Cannons. That Town was strong enough by its Situation, and wholly inhabited by Reformed; the King had ordered them to receive a Garrison, but upon their Remonstrances he asked only that the Walls and Fortifications should be demolished; whereunto they agreed, provided the Count of *Sancerre* would consent to it. So they spinned out the time till the War broke out, and prepared themselves for their defence: Now *Martinengue* and the two others knowing that *Avantigny*, their Governor, was absent, had a mind to improve that Opportunity,

(q) Thuan. lib. XLV.

tunity; and laid the Siege as aboveſaid: But three Advocates at the head of three hundred of the Inhabitants withſtood ſo ſtoutly all their Efforts, that after above five Weeks Siege they were forced to raiſe it, having loſt five hundred of their Troops, and ſome Officers of diſtinction; amongſt whom was D'Aigueville, Son to the Baron of Neufbourg (r).

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Tho' the Emperor had reſuſed to aſſiſt the King of France in this War, nevertheleſs he could not hinder the Catholick Princes of the Empire from ſending to him their Auxiliaries to the number of two thouſand Reiſters, according to Caſtelnaud, under the Command of the Rhingrave, Baſſompierre, and others, who arrived at the King's Camp about the latter end of February. The Reformed made ſeveral unſucceſſful Attempts upon *Lufignan*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, and ſome other places; by the Intelligences they had in them, the Chiefs whereof being taken were capitally puniſhed. The Viſcounts in Languedoc, with an Army of ſix Thouſand Foot, and ſome Horſe, ſtrongly oppoſed the Deſigns of Montluc, covered *Montauban*, *Puilaurens*, *Millaud*, and ſome other places, from the Enemy's Inſults, and kept in awe the City of *Thouloſe*. Piles was ſent by the Prince into Guienn and Languedoc to make Recruits for the grand Army; he, with twelve hundred Arquebuſiers and two hundred Horſe, took *Bergerac* and *St. Foy*, wherein having left his Foot, he, with his Horſe ran up and down the *Perigord*, burning all the places which he ſuſpected to be Accomplices of the Rout of Mouvans; then having gathered all the Troops he could, he came to *Saintes*. Theſe Fights, or rather Skirmiſhes, decided nothing; therefore the Duke of Anjou

(r) Id. ibid.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V.

having marched thro' *Poitou*, *Limofine*, and *Angoumois*, came on the *Charente's* Banks, as if he had a mind to take *Chateau-neuf*, in order to put himself between the Prince of Condé and Piles, who was coming with Auxiliaries from the South-west Provinces. To avoid which, the Prince having crossed the *Charente* at *Coignac*, came directly to *Chateau-neuf* (which was kept by a Scotch Officer) just as if he had a mind to give Battle. The Duke of Anjou was not averfe to it, his Army being much increased by the new Supplies he received every day; and understanding that the Confederates intended as soon as they had joined their Forces together to march to the *Loire*, there to wait for their Auxiliaries from Germany, who had begun their march on the 5th or 6th of March, he thought that it was necessary to oppose such a Design as well as he could. Therefore seeing that he could not cross the *Charente* at *Jarnac*, he crossed it beyond *Angouleme*, took *Chateau-neuf*, and the Castle, the Bridge having been broken in two pieces. The Admiral, in order to know better their Disposition, and the Passage, came himself with seven or eight hundred Horse, and as many Arquebusiers; the River was between the Duke of Anjou and the Admiral: Some Troops of the first had crossed, and there was a Skirmish between them and the Admiral's. However it was easy to know that the Duke had a mind to come through that Passage.

The Admiral, in order to oppose it, at least for a day longer, ordered that two Regiments of Foot should lodge at a quarter of a League from the Bridge, and eight hundred Horse a little further behind the Foot, the third part whereof should be upon Guard near the Passage, to warn the Army, as well as to oppose the first that

that should come. Having given his Orders, he went to Bassac, a League distant from that place, with the remainder of the Van-guard, and the Prince came to Jarnac, a League distant from Bassac.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Had the Admiral's Orders been executed, the Misfortune of the next day, the 13th of March, might have been prevented; but scarce was he gone to his Quarters, than those whom he had intrusted with the Guard of that Passage, finding their Quarters not good enough for them, forsook them to look for some more commodious, and very few remained, at about half a League distance from the place. So the Catholick Army having mended the Bridge in all haste, and made a new one with Boats, they begun at Midnight to cross without noise. The Reformed Guard that were at a Mile distance, to the number of fifty Horse only, knew nothing of that till the break of day; then they sent immediate notice of it to the Admiral, who sent for the Troops that were scattered into several Villages in the Neighbourhood, with orders to march in all haste to him, that they might make their Retreat together. He ordered also at the same time, that all the Baggage, and the Infantry should retreat, which was done accordingly. And if at that time, nay, an Hour later, all his Troops had been assembled, it would have been very easy for him to make an honourable Retreat. But the length of the time (for they were three Hours before they could be assembled) was the principal Occasion of their Rout. He was willing to save those Troops, consisting of Nine Cornets of Horse, and several Companies of Foot, under the Command of Montgomery, Assier, and Puviaut.

XCVII.
The Battle
of Bassac.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

At last, being all joined with him, Assier excepted, who took the Road of *Angouleme*, the Catholicks, who for the most part had already crossed the River, were in such a number, so near the Reformed, and they had Skirmishes so frequently, and with such bravery, that the Battle was unavoidable. Therefore the Prince of Condé, who made his Retreat, and was already half a League distant from that place, having received a Messenger from the Admiral, came back with all speed, and joined him; the Catholicks sent the choice of their Horse under the Command of the Duke of Guise, the Viscount of Martigues, and the Count of Brissac; at the first Onset they broke four Cornets of the Reformed, who retreated, and la Nouë was one of those that were taken Prisoners; then they assaulted D'Andelot in a Village, who withstood their Onset; then proceeding further, and discovering two thick Batallions of Horse, led by the Prince and the Admiral, they came at them, the Admiral had the first Charge, and the Prince the second, which was more brisk than the first, and at the beginning forced the Catholicks to turn their backs. But at last all the Catholick Army coming upon them, they were obliged to fly.

It is observable that the Catholicks were almost ten to one against the Reformed, for tho' before the Battle the Armies were almost equal in number, each of them consisting of about twenty-seven thousand Men, Horse or Foot; nevertheless, that of the Prince was quartered in so many different places, one, two, and even four Leagues distant one from another, that not above fifteen Cornets and six Companies of Foot could be present at the Battle.

There

There are three or four Mistakes in the relation D'Avila gives us of that Battle: 1. As to the time, which he says was the 16th of March; but by all the Historians, even those that were present at the Battle, such as Castelnau and la Noüe, it was the 13th of March. 2. As to the Duke of Anjou, whom he says had a Horse killed under him, no body else besides himself speaks of it; and Castelnau, who was deputed by the said Duke to inform the King of all the Particulars of the Battle, would not have omitted this, which was so glorious to the Duke. 3. As to the death of the Prince of Condé, he says, that being fell from his Horse, killed under him, he fought upon his Knees till he was killed by Montesquiou; this would extenuate the Crime of that Man, but he is contradicted by la Noüe and Castelnau. He adds, that Stuart was at the same time killed by him; but according to la Noüe and others, who have mentioned his Death, he was murdered in cool Blood in the Castle of Jarnac, where he had been brought Prisoner of War, and Brantome himself condemns that Action as cruel. 4. As to the number killed on both sides, he says, that the Reformed lost 700 Men, but all of them Gentlemen, and Cavaliers of a great Name. That is much magnified; their Loss, according to Thuanus, amounted to 400 Men, amongst whom, according to Castelnau, there was above a hundred Lords or Gentlemen of note; on the Catholicks side there were about two hundred Men killed, amongst whom were many Lords or Gentlemen of Note; the Names of several of both Parties are mentioned by Castelnau, liv. VII. ch. iv. La Hode, a Modern, says, that according to the Historians, the Loss of the Reformed amounted to the number of fourteen hundred Men, and that of the

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. Catholicks to two hundred; but it is plain that he or the Printer have mistaken four for fourteen, since all the Historians have not reckoned some more than four, others five, and D'Avila seven hundred. I observe this once for all, that D'Avila is not an Historian intirely to be depended upon; for it appears by the many Misrepresentations of Matters of Fact, that either he has written upon hear-say, or trusting too much to his own Memory, or which is worse, that being bent only to set up for a Wit, he was not very diligent after the search of Truth: That is very plain in all the Speeches he ascribes to his Actors, which certainly are of his own, and have never been spoken by any of them.

But to return. The greatest Loss was the Prince of Condé, he had one of his Arms in a Sling, and that very day one of his Legs had been broken in the Boot, by the kick of the Count of la Rochefoucault's Horse; therefore his own Horse having been killed under him, he fell upon the Ground, and was unable to stir about. He could receive no Assistance of his own, and seeing D'Argences, who was of his Acquaintance, and one St. John, he called them, delivered his Sword, and surrendered himself unto them, they promised to save him, and did indeed what they could for it; but here came a base Villain, MONTESQUIOU by Name, Captain of the Duke's Guards, who took his time while he was talking with D'Argences and St. John, and firing at him backwards killed him upon the spot.

Thus died on the 13th of March 1569, Lewis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, being thirty-eight Years ten Months and six days old, for he was born at Vendome on the 7th of May 1530; he was the youngest of seven Sons, of

Charles

*Further
addition to
his Character.*

Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, and of Frances of Alençon, and the only one that was defective in his Body, but the more lovely, tho' he was short and crooked; for he had in an ill-favoured Body all the Perfections of the Soul and Mind which can adorn such an august Birth; Superior to the King of Navarr, in any other respect, he yielded to him only as to the Titles; he increased the Glory of the Name of the Duke of *Enguien*, the Title whereof he joined with Prince of Condé, after the death of two of his illustrious Brethren, Francis the Conqueror at *Cerisoles*, and John killed at St. Quintin. These two Estates supplied him with nothing else but a Name and Emulation, and having no other Income but his County of *Soissons*, of about a thousand Crowns of yearly Rent, and some other small Estates, as the Viscounty of *Meaux*, and in the *Perche*; his own Merit and his Virtue joined with the Crown's Favour, and the Wealth of the King his Brother, could only support him in his high Station. He submitted himself generously to that Necessity, and did important Services to King Henry II. as well at the Conquest of *Bologn*, as in his glorious Journey to *Germany*, and at the Defence of *Metz*; he was so desirous to improve in the Military Art, that he accepted to be Colonel of the French Infantry in *Piedmont*, that he might have more and better Opportunities of signalizing himself, as he did chiefly at the Siege of *Ulpian*.

He was afterwards gratified by Henry II, who had a great value for him, with the Government of *Picardy*, which Province he preserved by his Prudence and Valour from the Invasion of the Spaniards, after the Battle of St. Quintin. But by King Henry's death the House of Guise, having usurped all the Power and Authority under
Francis

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Francis II. this Prince was so much the more jealous of it, that besides that ambitious House divided amongst six Brethren, all the Dignities and great Preferments, they were ready to form a Party against the Royal House in order to remove it intirely from the Government. He had increased his own Patrimony with the best of the large Estate of the House of Roye, by his Marriage with LEONOR, Lady of Roye, Muret, and Conti. But tho' he had had enough to support his Rank, A PRINCE OUT OF THE COURT IS LIKE A STAR FALLEN FROM THE FIRMAMENT, because he borrows all his Brightness from the King's own Light. AND IT IS NO LESS CONDUCIVE TO THE KING'S OWN GLORY, TO BE SURROUNDED BY A MULTITUDE OF TRUE STARS, THAN BY COMETS, THAT RATHER STEAL THAN BORROW FROM HIM MOST PART OF HIS BRIGHTNESS. The Prince of Condé took not amiss that the King should employ the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine in the Administration of the Government; they were able, if they were but willing to discharge that Office, they were besides that his first Cousins, nay they were intimate before; but what he could not bear with was, that the haughty Cardinal should scorn as he did at first, the Princes, and the greatest Men of the Kingdom, and that he should render them despicable to the King; that touched him to the quick. Lorraine was very sensible of it; therefore he left no Stone unturned to prevent his Resentment, by procuring his Ruin and Destruction. It was enough for that lewd Priest, that the Prince was in a Capacity to redeem the Kingdom from the miserable Thralldom under which it groaned, and was to groan as long as it should be governed by him; the mere Suspi-

cion he had of him was sufficient to ground upon it the intire Destruction of the Royal Branch of Bourbon. We have seen that as soon as the Amboisian Plot was discovered, he charged the Prince with it ; that afterwards, whatever Motions the Reformed and others made in the Provinces, he looked always upon the Prince as the Author and Abettor of them, because at the Exhortations of the Countess of Roze, and of the Princess his Consort, he had embraced the Reformed Religion, and was firmly and sincerely adhering to it, and he never ceased till he had brought him to his Trial at Orleans, and condemned, but gnashed his Teeth when he saw that it was no longer in his power to have him executed. After his return from the Council of Trent, he ceased not till he had by his false Suggestions exasperated the Queen against the Prince, to that degree that had he not provided in good time for his own Security, he would have been clapt into a Dungeon for all his Life ; it was at his persuasion that the Queen broke the Promises she had made unto him at Orleans, that he should hold the same Rank in the Kingdom as the late King of Navarr his Brother, and be the King's Lieutenant-General ; it was at his Instigation, that the Queen engaged the Duke of Anjou to ask that place for himself, which occasioned the Quarrel he had with the Prince at St. Germain, which caused the Hatred the Duke conceived against him, which occasioned at last the base and barbarous Order he gave to Montesquiou † to go and kill him. So it is evident that the House of Guise, but especially the

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

† There was the Chevalier de Montluc, who took the Name of Montesquiou ; but I don't say, that he is the same Man. Comm. de Montluc, liv. VI. at the Margent, pag. 486.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

the Cardinal of Lorraine, has been the second Cause of all the Mischiefs which besel the Kingdom, from the middle of the Reign of Henry II. to the sixth Year of the Reign of Henry IV. As to the first Cause, the Sins of the Nation had provoked the Vengeance of God against it, and the Guises were the Plague wherewith, in his Wisdom, he thought proper to chastise them. The Prince died with Reputation, even amongst his Enemies, of having faithfully performed to the utmost of his power, whatever he had himself engaged to, by the Treaties of *Amboise* and *Chartres* (r). He was worthy of a better time and of a happier Death by all the great Endowments wherewith his Royal Extraction was attended. It is said that a little before the Battle, having had one of his Legs broken, as above-said, instead of retiring himself in order to have his Leg drest, the violent Pain he felt served only to raise up his Spirits, and he said only in the first Motion, *French Gentlemen, know that mettlesome Horses are more noxious than useful in an Army, and that it is a foolish Vanity to pretend to daunt them in a Day of Battle, and to share unavoidably ones Cares between that Object and the Enemies, which require all our time and the greatest presence of Mind. Here is a sad Instance of what I say, but for all that, I will not be disabled to fight.* Then raising his Voice, and ready to assault, he cried out, *French Nobility, know that the Prince of Condé, with an Arm in a sling, and a Leg broken, has Courage enough to give Battle.* Whoever will read Agricola's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Book VII. from p. 609 to 626, will see, that I have said nothing too much concerning the Plot against the King at Meaux, and the Medal with the Inscription,

Lewis

(r) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, ubi supra.

Lewis XIII, &c. which Daniel quotes as a strong Argument to prove his Charge against the Prince of Condé, and that had he lived in Agricola's time, or Agricola in his own, he would have been handled with much more Roughness than I have done, had he had the Assurance to advance such a Fact without being able to prove it by better Authorities and Reasons.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

That Prince, after his Death, was, by way of Derision, put a-cross an old She-Afs, his Legs and Arms hanging down, and in that posture was carried to *Jarnac*, and put in a Hall, under the Chamber of the Duke of Anjou, where the said Prince had lodged the day before, and was exposed there to the publick View; the said Duke was overjoyed to see in that condition a Prince whom he looked upon as his Enemy, and his Competitor, but is he excusable for having suffered, nay commanded that a Prince of his own Blood should be treated so basely and shamefully? At last he gave the Corpse to the Duke of Longueville, Brother in-law to the Prince, according to Castelnau present, and Brantome; but according to Thuanus, it was delivered to the Prince of Bearn, who caused him to be buried at Vendôme. But these Authors can be very well reconciled together, the Prince of Bearn kept no Correspondence with the Duke of Anjou, that is certain; but understanding that the Duke of Longueville had obtained the Corpse, very likely he desired that Prince to deliver it to him, and put it in some place from whence he had it removed in a better time, in order to be buried at Vendôme with his Ancestors. I shall insert here some Verses done by Catholicks upon this sad Occasion. These four are an Epitaph.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

L'an mil cinq cens soixante neuf
Entre *Jarnac* & *Chateau-neuf*,
Fut porté sur une Anesse
C'il qui vouloit oter la Messe.

The famous John D'Aurat, called by the Reformed, the Limosine Frog, because of several Poems he wrote against them upon all the Events of this War, composed two Pieces, amongst others, upon the Prince's Death; the one for the Cardinal of Bourbon, Brother to the Deceased, the other was to congratulate the Duke of Anjou; and they are as follows:

DE BORBONIORUM NECE.

QUÆRITIS in nostrum quid fati conscia possint
Astra caput? non prisca loquor, vulgata docebit
Borboniæ fortuna Domus tot fratribus orbæ.

* Francis
accidental-
ly killed at
la Roche-
guyon in
1546.

Aufonii terror FRANCISCUS * & horror Iberi,
Invictus bello dum ludum ludit inermem,
Occidit injecta mediis cervicibus arca.

† John
killed at St.
Quintin in
1557.

Quintini ad fanum, circumveniente Philippo,
Vinclorum impatiens & nescius vertere terga,
(s) Innumeris JANI † virtus est obruta telis.

‡ Anthony
of Navarr
died in
1562.

Trajectis humeris tormenti ANTONIUS † ictu
Mœnia dum Populi premit obsidione rebellis,
Communem hanc lucem & dotalia scepra re-
liquit.

‡ Lewis
murdered
in 1569.

Dum veterum ritus convellit, & otia turbat,
Tertia bella gerens Patriæ funesta sibi que
Diffudit vitam fractis LODOVICUS ‡ in Armis.

* Charles,
Cardinal
of Bourbon
surviving.

Dimidium justî vixerunt quatuor ævi
Adversis fati rapti florente Juventa.
Cum quintus numero è fratrum nunc, CAROLE*,
restes,
Si tibi fata velint detractos fratribus annos
Adjicere, explebis Pelei tria sæcula Regis.

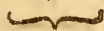
DE

(s) Mr. de l'Etoile reads Theutonicis instead of Innumeris.

DE LUDOVICO BORBONIO.

MENSE tuo cecidit Cæsar, Mars, cæsus ad Idus,
 Mense tuo cecidit cæsus Condæus ad Idus,
 Ambo hostes Patriæ, belli civilis & ambo
 Authores, miseram vitam sic finit uterque.
 Dissimili haud fato, sed non fortuna duobus
 Par fuit, æqua licet merita cum morte perirent ;
 Armatae namque hunc acies videre cadentem
 Turba togatorum victorem, & victa cecidit
 Debita fors illum : nam quis vicisset in armis,
 Victori HENRICO & quis non cessisset in armis ?

Charles
 IX.
 1569.
 Pope Pius
 V.



But some of the Reformed with greater Sincerity and Truth made the following Distich.

Vivit adhuc, vivetque diù, qui vindice dextrâ
 Annixus Patriæ, ne cadat illa, cadit (t).

He had eight Children, viz. five Sons and three Daughters by Leonora of Roze his first Wife, five whereof died young, the three others were Henry, Prince of Condé; Francis, Prince of Conti, this died without Issue in 1614; and Charles, afterwards Cardinal of Bourbon and Archbishop of Roüen, these two last were brought up in the Catholick Religion. By Frances of Orleans his second Wife, he had Charles of Bourbon, Count of Soissons, who was likewise brought up in the Romish Religion by his Mother.

The Prince's Death caused a general Consternation in the Reformed Army, they betook to flight, the Horse that could escape ran till the Afternoon. The Admiral with d'Andelot his

XCVIII.
*The Prince
 his Army
 routed.*

Bro-

(t) Will it not be better to read, *ne cadat, ille cadit?* however the Poet's meaning is obvious enough, the Prince zealous for the Kingdom's Welfare has sacrificed himself for it, and thereby has endeared himself to Posterity; but the Expression, *ne cadat illa, cadit,* seems to me something ambiguous.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. Brother seeing that it was not in their power to rally their Troops, retreated to *St. John of Angely*, attended with some of the Nobility; they stayed there but a Night, and came the next day to the Prince of Navarr and Condé at *Saintes*.

D'Assier, who was near *Angouleme*, understanding that the two Parties were to engage, marched with all the haste he could, that he might be present at the Battle with six thousand Arquebusers, (Thuanus says, six hundred Companies, which would make at least ten thousand) but being arrived at two Miles from *Bassac*, he judged by the Runners-away that the Prince had lost the day, therefore he made haste to *Jarnac*. In his way thither he was briskly assaulted by a Party of the Catholick Army that pursued their Victory, but he withstood their Onset with such bravery, that without losing a single Man he arrived safe at *Jarnac*, from whence he marched out immediately, understanding that those who had escaped at *Bassac* were gone to *Coignac*; and to be covered from the Pursuit of the Enemy, he caused the Bridges whereby he passed to be cut down: thus he arrived safe with all his Troops and Baggage to the place where he intended to go (v).

XCIX. *Consequences of the Battle.* The Joy which the Catholicks received by this Event was inexpressible. The Duke of Angou was so far transported with it, that he had a mind to build a Chapel upon the very spot of Ground where the Prince had been murdered, but was diverted from it by Carnavalet, who remonstrated unto him, that, in so doing, he would corroborate the Rumour, that the Prince had been murdered by his Orders (x). He dispatched

(v) Concerning the Battle of Bassac, see Casteln. Mem. liv. VII. ch. xiii, xiv. Dinoth. lib. IV. 242, 3, 4, 5. Thuan. lib. XLV. p. 568, 69, 70. (x) Thuan. ibid.

patched a Courier to the King, then at Metz, the Messenger arrived at Midnight, and the King rose up out of his Bed, and went to the Cathedral, and caused the *Te Deum* to be sung: by his Orders, Prayers and Thanksgivings were put up all over the Kingdom, and the Virgin Mary nor the Saints were not forgotten. He dispatched immediately his Couriers to the several Catholick Courts of Europe, to notify unto them his Victory, and he even sent to the Pope some of the Standards that had been taken upon the Reformed. The Pope received them with the utmost Demonstration of Joy and Satisfaction, and caused them to be hung in St. Peter's Church, then from that Church he went in Procession to that of the Holy Ghost, with all the Cardinals then at Rome. The Senate of *Venice*, and Alva in *Flanders* made such like Processions in their respective Countries. They were all sure that the Prince of Condé being dead, the Hugonots were utterly undone, whereby it appeared that the Prince's Name was very formidable unto the Catholick Powers; for, as to the rest, they mistook a great deal in their Notions.

The Duke knew not how, or it may be, his Council would not improve their Victory. His Troops rested for two or three days at Jarnac, then they marched to Coignac, which he thought that the Reformed had forsaken; but he was much surpris'd to find it kept by four Regiments of Foot, commanded by Beaudisner, Brother to D'Assier, Blaccons, Mirabel and du Chelar. The Duke having sent some Companies to reconnoitre the Situation and Fortifications of the place, the Garrison sallied upon them, killed two hundred of them, and routed the rest. So the Duke seeing that the place was too hot for him;

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Prepara-
tions on both
sides for the
Campaign.

was diverted from besieging it, and quartered his Army in the neighbouring places.

Four days after the Battle he had sent Castelnau to their Majesties, to acquaint them better with all the Particulars, and to hasten the Levy of the Reisters which the Marquis of Baden had promised to raise, having received a Sum of Money for that purpose some time ago. The King sent him into Germany for that end, and that Lord was so diligent that in a Fortnight's time he was come back to Court with the German Auxiliaries. Then his Majesty sent him to Bruxelles, to desire Alva to send the Auxiliaries which had been promised by the Spanish Embassador at the Court of France. At this time that Governor was very glad of that Opportunity for gratifying his bloody Temper, questioning not but all the Hugonots of France would be now destroyed all at once, and by that means be revenged upon them for the Succours they had sent to the Prince of Orange, of twelve Cornets, and two thousand Foot, under the Command of Genlis, Morvilliers, the Marquisses of Renel and D'Autricour, Mouy, Renty, Feuquieres, and some others, who all remained in *Brabant*, when the Prince had fled into *Rockelle*, daring not to venture into France, because it was impossible for them to join the Prince's Army without exposing themselves to the most threatning danger.

For these reasons, I say, Alva, after many Compliments, promised to the Lord of Castelnau, to give him in ten days time two thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Reisters, under the Command of the Count of Mansfield, Governor of *Luxembourg*, advising withal their Majesties never to make Peace with their rebellious Subjects, much less with the Hugonots, but

to destroy them entirely without Mercy, and to treat their Chiefs, if ever they fell into their hands as he had treated the Counts of Egmont and Horn, tho' both were very considerable for the greatness of their Houses, as well as for their Services*.

Charles^d
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V

Castel-

* Castelnau shows that there was more Vanity, than any real Affection for the Service of his Prince in the bloody Execution Alva caused to be made of these two unfortunate Lords, and of many others. That blood-thirsty Man, at his coming into the Low Countries, followed the Method of those Architects or Gardeners, who pull down old Buildings without any regard for their Beauty and Antiquity, on pretence of making new ones after a new Fashion, but less durable, less commodious than the former, or turn upside down a Garden planted with the best Fruit-trees to make a Champaign ground of it, and who undertake, with more Malice than Art, to make Alleys in places where the finest Trees were; for the glory sake of having cut them down: and lastly, who put foreign Plants, such as Cypress-Trees, that bear nothing, and even afford no Shadow, but only a sad Gloominess, instead of those that bear Blossoms, Flowers and Fruits. Hear them speaking about their Schemes, they promise you the greatest Wonders in the World; but they give you very uncertain Prospects for a real Good which you lose; and sometimes the Master is obliged to live in some old decayed place till his Undertaker has done, but often his Patience being tired, he frets at the said Undertaker, who leaves him with only some imperfect Rubbish instead of Castles which he has pulled down. The Application of all this to Alva is very easy, that Man whose Looks and Countenance offered nothing to the Sight but what was most terrible and frightful, endeavouring, by the most wicked Methods, to subvert the Government of the Low Countries, worked actually his Master's Expulsion out of seven of them, whom he forced, will they or not, to erect themselves into a Republick. One of the most flagrant Crimes of the Count of Egmont, tho', for good Reasons, it was not in the Articles exhibited against him, was his Titles upon the Duchy of *Gueldres*, and the County of *Zutphen*, he complained too freely that the late Duke of *Burgundy* had wronged him; that was enough to ruin him in the King of Spain's mind; who thought that to him only it belongs to bear quarterly all the Empires and Crowns of the World, to the end that his Escutcheon might be the perpetual Mirrour

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Castelnau having mustered these Troops, and taken his leave of the Governor, marched with so great diligence that in less than ten days they joined the Army under the Command of the Dukes of Nevers and Aumale into *Burgundy* (x).

On the other hand, the Princes who were at *Saintes*, suspecting that the Duke had renounced *Coignac*, in order to come and surprize them, went in secret to *St. John of Angely*, and commanded Piles and du Chelar to come with their Regiments for the Defence of *Saintes*. They arrived at the very nick of time, for whereas the Catholicks were more powerful than the Reformed in that City, they were just upon the point of seizing upon the Administration of the Government in it ; two days after Blaccons came into it with two Companies. The Duke, who feigned to have a mind to besiege *Pons*, in order to procure a Diversion of the Prince's Forces, crossed the *Charente* at *Jarnac* ; the Princes understanding this, thought that he intended to lay Siege to *St. John of Angely*, therefore they removed to *Tonay-Charente*, and du Chelar came by their Orders to defend *St. John*. Blaccons was sent to *Pons*, and Piles stayed at *Saintes*. Thus the Towns of *Xaintonge* were provided with all possible diligence.

Nevertheless, all those who followed the Prince's Camp were not entirely free from their Fears, many lamenting the death of the Prince of Condé were almost distracted, and deserting their Colours, fled some into *Guienn*, and some into *Languedoc* ; but seeing that the Roads were infested

of his Ambition, and the Building-ground of his Designs ; who loses not one of his Titles, who does rehearse them in all manner of Deeds and Instruments, and who makes of them a kind of Litany, with full Indulgence to all Catholicks that shall get it by heart, and shall believe it.

(x) *Memoirs de Castelnau*, liv. VII. ch. v. p. 236, 237.

feſted with Enemies, and that they could not go with ſafety into their own Countries, they were obliged to take Sanctuary either in Strong-Holds or Towns poſſeſſed by thoſe of their own Party.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

Some that had fled to *Rochelle* from the Battle, crying that all was undone, took Ship there and retired into *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and other adjacent Iſlands belonging to the Crown of England, where they remained till the Peace was made (y). Whereas the Rumour was ſpread, that the Duke of Anjou was to attack *Angouleme*, and that he had ſome Intelligence in that City, the Princes ſent thither the Count of Montgomery with fourteen Cornets, four whereof, who were in the Rear, were aſſaulted with ſuch bravery by the young Count of Briſſac, that many were forced into the City's Ditches, and two Standards were taken. Few days after the Duke ſent an Herald, and with him a very ſtrong Party of Horſe, in hopes that the City would be betrayed into his hands, becauſe ſome Officers of the Garrifon had promiſed to engage the Citizens to ſurrender. But the Garrifon having been augmented with two Regiments of Foot, beſides the Horſe, and the Commander of the Caſtle having been changed, and every thing neceſſary for the Defence of the City being in a readineſs, the Duke thought proper to lead his Troops elſewhere.

Now the Queen of Navarr underſtanding that the Princes were at *Toneins-Charente*, ſhe ſet out from *Rochelle* to come there, to ſtrengthen thoſe who were diſheartened, and to conſult with the Generals about what there was to do in the preſent juncture, and take proper meaſures for the Operations of the Campaign.

C.
The Queen of Navarr comes to the Prince's Army.

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Thu-

(y) Dinoth. Hiſt. lib. IV. p. 246, 247. But Thuanus does not agree with him as to the time of theſe Expeditions, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Thuanus places this Voyage of the Queen three or four days after the Battle of Bassac, and before the Events which we have just now related; and as to the place where she came, he says that it was at Coignac. As to the rest the Historians agree, that it was for strengthening the disheartened, and for taking proper measures to retrieve the Losses they had sustained by the last Battle. Howbeit, she made a set Speech to the Assembly of the Nobles, and chief Officers of the Army, having praised the Valour and Virtue of the late Prince of Condé, who had so generously undertook the Defence of the *CAUSE*, and had maintained it to his last moment; she exhorted them to follow his Example, and tread in his Steps, and to be steadfast in the Defence of their Religion, and the Liberty of their Country, which were attacked by the Violence of some wicked Men, to cheer up, and to remember that the good *CAUSE* was not dead together with the Prince of Condé; that generous and good Men ought not to despair because of that Accident, since God Almighty had so well taken care of his *CAUSE*, that he had permitted that the Prince had had Followers of his Zeal while he was alive, who were ready to succeed him now, and had Remedies easily to be procured, and ready at hand. That the Prince of Bearn and the young Prince of Condé who had inherited the Virtues as well as the Name of his Father, were there present, besides many other Lords, whom she hoped would never forsake the good

CI.
*The Prince
of Bearn
declared
Generalis-
simo and
PROTEC-
TOR of the
Reformed.*

CAUSE. Thus the Queen spoke to the Generals, and to the Army, and in private she exhorted her Son, and told him many things proper to stir up his Courage.

Then the Prince of Bearn, for so Thuanus styles him, but others call him Prince of Navarr, was declared

declared Generalissimo of all the Armies of the Reformed, and PROTECTOR of the CAUSE. In order that the reciprocal Promises of the Princes to the Lords and Gentlemen their Adherents, and of these to the Princes should be known unto all, they were published in Print, and are to the following Purport: The Princes promised before God and his Angels, that having been elected to be chief of the Army, they would live and die (if such was their fate) for their Defence, and were resolved never to depart from their Covenant, till the Affairs of the Kingdom should be put in such a Posture that they could serve God according to his Holy Will, and till the King should be delivered out of the hands of those who besieged him as it were, kept him under Restraint, and abused his Name and Authority; so as the Reformed might enjoy the free and publick Exercise of their Religion. The Nobles, &c. promised likewise to obey the Princes and those who by them should be constituted, to submit themselves unto all military Laws; to deem those who should absent from the Army without the Princes Licence, as perfidious, and Deserters. Besides that they published a new Manifesto whereby they declared the Causes and Reasons for which they had taken Arms, to wit, for the Preservation of the Liberty of Conscience, and the free Profession of the Reformed Religion, and to defend themselves against the Tyranny of the Disturbers of the publick Peace; that they were entirely resolved to spend their Goods, their Estates and Lives for so just a Cause. They added, that they plotted nothing against the King whom they acknowledged as their supreme Lord and Prince, ordained by God, to whom they will pay all Respect, Submission and Obedience.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

The Joy which the Army shewed upon this Occasion was inexpressible; they saw at their head the two first Princes of the Blood instead of one who was but the second, and tho' they were very young at that time, they were so hopeful and promising that they thought to have in them a sure prospect of better things for the future, than what was past: And whereas the Prince of Navarr is the first that I can find out who has received the Name and Title of PROTECTOR, which he hath kept even when he came to the Crown of France, except while he was kept a Captive, after the Massacre of Bartholomew's-day, till he made his escape from Court; it will not be amiss to give a Notion of the Protectorship, what it was.

What was the Protection amongst the Reformed. The Reformed having been obliged, after above forty Years Sufferings, to unite themselves for their common Defence, they put themselves at first under the Protection of the Prince of Condé (z), who had the same Interest with them. The natural Design of this Protection was to procure Security and Repose to the Reformed, to tender to the King their Complaints and Petitions, to repress, out of regard for their Protector, the attempts of the zealous or ambitious Catholics, to have a Guarantee and a Guardian of the Treaties and Edicts. So that this Protection allowed to the Protector nothing else but the Care and Sollicitude for obtaining tolerable Conditions for the Reformed, and to watch over the Observation of the Treaties; consequently it could give no Jealousy to the King as long as he

(z) The Prince of Condé has never been a Protector at large of the Reformed; for tho' he took the Oath in the first Civil War at Orleans, nevertheless, the Reformed, far from obeying him, even in the necessary things, as Supplies are, they very often disobeyed him; the same thing happened not under the Prince of Navarr.

he stood by his Treaties, since to render the Protector useleſs, nothing more was required than to keep to his Promiſes and Treaties; the Protection fell of itſelf when there was no Infrac-tion of the Treaties and Ediſts. The Royal Authority was always reſpected, far from being reſtrained, the Reformed deſired rather to increaſe it: But the cruel Zeal of the Catholicks, not ſatiated with ſo much blood they had ſpilt by ſo many exquisite Tortures, deſired no leſs than the utter Deſtruction of them. Therefore if that inhuman Spirit occaſioned a Party in the Kingdom, the Reformed, I hope, will not be blamed for it by any thinking Man, ſeeing that they had no other way left to defend themſelves. It is true this Protection has oftentimes produced War under the laſt Kings of the Houſe of Valois, but it has been always accidentally, always occaſioned by the breach of the Ediſts and the moſt baſe breach of Faith, as long as the Court was governed by a She-Wolf, who deſired no better than Slaughtering, was it not a Duty incumbent on the Maſtiſs to watch over the Flock to keep it, to defend it?

Furthermore, the Reformed have had no Protectors but what were Princes of the Blood, and even theſe Protectors have not been always Reformed, the Duke of Alençon, the King's Brother, was a Catholick; and as to the Prince of Navarr, afterwards King of France and Navarr, the Protection was reciprocal between him and the Reformed, for if he headed them in the War, or if the War was waged in his Name, if he ſupported them in time of Peace, watching over the Obſervation of the Ediſts, and the Redreſs of their Grievances, he ſtood no leſs in need of the Reformed's Protection, for the Preſervation of his Rights, eſpecially ſince the League had be-

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

gun to display what was his real Intention, viz. to deprive the lawful Heir of the Crown, under a specious Pretence of Religion, in order to have it set upon a GUISIAN HEAD. Whether after Henry IV, the Protectorship ceased intirely or was transferred over to the Kings of England, or whether the Deputies-General of the Reformed Churches to the Court of France had intirely the whole management of their Concerns, under the Guaranty of the King of England, that is a point not very well decided in History, at least, as far as I know of; certain it is, that the Title was extinct with Henry IV, that the General Deputies approved of by the King, had the management of the whole Concerns of the Churches under Lewis XIII, and Lewis XIV, and how their Affairs were managed during the Civil Wars under Lewis XIII, that we shall see in its proper place: we must return.

The Admiral declared Lieutenant-General of the Princes.

The Admiral was declared Lieutenant-General of the Princes Armies; then it was considered in that Assembly what was more proper to be done in the present Juncture, and as they had Notice that the German Auxiliaries had begun their March since the beginning of March, it was resolved to go and meet them; but before that they resolved to secure some place upon the *Loire*, to raise Contributions, to scour the Province of Poitou of the Royal Garrisons, and to review the Army.

Accordingly the Army was reviewed, and there was found four thousand Horse, besides the Foot, not reckoning the Troops that were in Garrison, or upon Party.

D'Andelot's death.

D'Andelot was sent to Poitou, but he came back with bad Success, and the worst of all was that he fell sick with a pestilential Fever, and died at Saintes on the 27th of May; the Physician

fician that opened his Body found in it the Symptoms of Poison; but if it is so, it must have been a lingering one, for he had been attacked long ago with a quartan Ague which had wasted him by degrees, He had been of a very strong Constitution, well-bodied; but what was more valuable in him, was his Christian, Moral, and Military Virtues, extremely conspicuous for his Integrity, Probity, Equity, and his Piety; he was the first amongst the prime Nobility that declared for the Reformed Religion, wherein he persevered constantly till the latter end of his Life, and there can be no exception against his Sincerity in that respect, since the open Profession he made of his Faith before Henry II, exposed him to the Persecution of that Prince, and that he had at that time no other Prospect, in so doing, than a certain death, or at least a perpetual Captivity. His Experience in military Affairs, his Courage in Execution, his Care and Sollicitude for the Soldiers endeared him to them to that degree, that nothing was too hard or difficult for them, whenever he commanded, and put himself at their head, they ran chearfully after him as to a certain Victory. He had married Lady CLAUDIA DE RIEUX, Heiress of the Houses of LAVAL and RIEUX in Britany, by whom he had a Son, who took the Name and Title of Count of Laval, which Title was extinct with Guy XX, who died without Male Issue. D'Andelot's second Wife was ANNA, Daughter of John Count of Salme, by whom he had two Sons, who died without Issue in 1586, and a Daughter named Anna of Colligny, Wife of JAMES CHABOT, Marquis of MIREBEAU, from whom was issued the Marchioness of *Termes* and *Montespan* (a).

Charles
 IX.
 1569.
 Pope Pius
 V.

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(a) Thuan. lib. XLV. p. 572. 573. Dinoth. lib. IV. p. 248.
 Add. aux Mem. de Castel. liv. I. ch. v. p. 374, &c.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

*Buchard's
death.*

A little after D'Andelot died likewise at *Saintes*, James de BUCHARD, General of the Artillery, he was succeeded by Yvoy, who took then the Name of Jenlis, his Brother being dead by this time at Strasbourg. D'Andelot was succeeded in his Charge of Colonel General of the Infantry by James of Crussol, Lord D'Assier, and the King on his part gave that Charge to PHILIP STROZZI, a near Relation to the Queen-Mother.

By this time la Noüe had been exchanged for SESSAC, a Lieutenant of the Company of Gendarmes of the Duke of Guise, and a Man of great note; that displeased so much the Brother of Montgomery, Corbussou by Name, who was likewise Prisoner of War, and had much insisted with the Princes and the Admiral for being exchanged with Sessac, that out of spite he deserted the Reformed Party and Religion.

The young Count of Brissac and Pompadour had been killed at the Siege of *Mucidan* a little before; that Town was surrendered to the King by Capitulation, which was so little regarded that the whole Garrison was put to the Sword, and the Soldier who had killed the Count condemned to be hanged by the Royalists, to revenge his death.

It would be too tedious to relate all the Skirmishes, Sieges, taking and retaking of the Places which passed between the two Parties, before the Princes had joined with their German Auxiliaries, I shall observe only, that they were successful in most part of their Enterprizes,

CIII. Now I must relate that famous Expedition of the Germans under the Command of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, who travelled above three hundred Leagues in an Enemy's Country, and joined hap-

*The March
of the Au-
xiliaries of
Germany.*

happily the Prince's Army after above three Months march, without any considerable Loss.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

When these Troops were ready, the Elector Palatine sent to the King a kind of Manifesto, on the 21st of February, whereby he declared, that it was not against his Majesty or the Kingdom, but for his own Defence, and against the Enemies of the State, the Disturbers of the publick Peace, that he had armed, for keeping his Frontiers, and for assisting the Princes of Navarr and Condé, their Adherents, and those who professed the same Religion with him. That however if it was found that the said Princes and their Adherents mixed in their Cause some other Concerns besides those of Religion and Liberty of Conscience, not only he would forsake them, but even join his Forces with his Majesty's against them: furthermore, that if at his entering into the Kingdom they were restored to their religious Privileges, and other Rights, according to the former Edicts of Amboise and Chartres, he would come back without requiring any thing for his Charges, which amounted already to a hundred thousand Crowns; but otherwise he thought himself obliged in Honour and Conscience to undertake the Defence of the Afflicted, who desired his assistance.

The next day, part of his Troops having crossed the *Rhine*, the Duke of Deux-Ponts set out from *Reinzabern*, and arrived on the last day of February at *Hochfeldt* in the District of *Hagenau*, where he stayed till the 15th of March. There he mustered his Army, which he found to consist of seven thousand five hundred and ninety-six Horse, without reckoning those for Carriage, and six thousand Foot well armed; they were joined, as abovesaid, by the Prince of Orange, his two Brethren, with some Troops of Horse, and

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

and by Morvilliers, the Marquis of Renel, and others abovementioued, with six hundred Horse, and eight hundred Arquebusiers; they came thro' *Alsace*, the Duke of Aumale being too much inferior in number was not in a condition to hinder that Army from entering the Kingdom, he followed them through the County of *Burgundy*, till they had crossed the *Saone*: on the 28th of March he fought them at *Gilly* near *Cisteaux* *, the Loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to no more than two Hundred Men in all. Then they went to *Beaune*, where they stayed for two days, till their Carts and Baggage should be arrived; from thence they removed to *Vezelay*. Here Aumale, despairing to hinder them, ceased to pursue them that way, and came by the *Auxerrois* to the *Loire*, in order to hinder them from crossing that River, as also to join with the Duke of Anjou, who was coming that way with all his Forces. He was already arrived at *Gien*, with five thousand Horse Auxiliaries of Germany, led by the Marquis of Baden and other Chiefs, besides the French Troops. Guerchy, Standard-bearer to the Admiral, having found a Ford near *Pouilly*, in the *Nivernois*, the Duke of Deux-Ponts caused part of his Troops to cross the River *Loire*; then they thought proper to seize upon *la Charité*, a Town upon the *Loire*, very convenient for crossing that River whenever they should have occasion for it, therefore they laid Siege to it, and having battered it for a few days they made a large breach in the Wall; whereby the Commandant was so much terrify'd, that, on pretence of going to ask Succours of the Duke of Anjou, he forsook his Post. Then the Garrison and Inhabitants being disheartened, desired to come to a Parley,

* Castelnau says at *Noye*.

Parley, which was granted, but while they were upon debating the Articles, some of the Inhabitants of the Reformed Religion, having given a Signal into the Camp, let down a Rope by the Wall, whereby the Besiegers came up one after another into the Town, and made themselves Masters of it on the 20th of May. But by the Authority of the French Officers it was agreed, That the French Troops should forbear plundering, and that the Plunder should be left to the Germans instead of a Month's pay due unto them. Feuquieres, one of the best Engineers then in France, was killed at that Siege; Guerchy, with two Companies of Foot and some Horse, was left Governour of the place; then having left in it their Mortars and Culverins, and taking along with them the rest of their Artillery, the Army continued their march.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Mean while the Queen-Mother came to *Limagés*, in order to pacify the Murmurs that were in the Duke of Anjou's Army, (for the Officers as well as the Soldiers complained loudly of the Hardships they were to undergo for want of Pay;) she likewise desired to advise with her Son, and the chief Officers of the Army, concerning what was to be done in the present juncture of Affairs. They were all very sensible that the junction of the Germans with the Princes would give them a Superiority which could be very hardly withstood. They could not but blame the Conduct of the two Generals Aumale and Nemours, who by their Jealousies had countenanced the Passage of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, for so it was confidently reported, according to Castelnau. Therefore it was resolved in the Council of War, to harrass the Enemy by frequent Assaults, and, if possible, to hinder the junction of the two Armies.

The Queen-Mother comes to her Son's Army.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Now the Princes, (of Navarr and Condé) according to the Resolution taken, having marched with their Army to meet the German Auxiliaries, took by Storm *Nantrou*, and sojourned there two days: from whence they sent Montgomery into *Gascony* to command the Viscount's Army, because they could not agree amongst themselves, and for opposing the Progress of Terride in Bearn.

The Duke
of Deux-
Ponts's
death.

On the 9th of June the Admiral with some General Officers set out, and having forded the *Vienne* at *Verthamont* went to receive the Duke of Deux-Ponts. But he found that he was dead at *Escars*. (Thuanus says at *Nesson*, but no matter). That Prince had been troubled for a long while with a quartan Ague, but by the great fatigue he had undergone, he fell into a Fever, which carried him off very soon. He exhorted all his Officers to prosecute with the same Resolution what they had so chearfully undertaken, for the Defence of so just a Cause; he died in the 43d Year of his Age, and was succeeded by Count Mansfeld in the Command of that Army.

CIV.
Junction
of the Ger-
mans with
the Prince.

The Admiral presented the chief Officers of that Army with golden Chains and Medals with this Motto, CERTAIN PEACE, INTIRE VICTORY, or HONOURABLE DEATH; and on the Reverse were the Names of the Queen and the Prince of Navarr, to show that they were fully resolved to die for the Defence of the CAUSE. The Junction of the two Armies was intirely made at *St. Yrier*, on the 23d of June, and by the Prince's Orders the Germans having mustered received their Pay (b).

The Princes
Petition to
the King
ill receiv-
ed.

Few days after the Princes, by the Admiral's Advice, sent a Petition to the King in their own
and

(b) Thuan. lib. XLV. p. 574, 575. Casteln. Mem liv. VII. ch. vi.

and the whole Reformed Body in France's name, whereby they besought his Majesty to pity the sad Condition of his People, and to grant unto his Reformed Subjects the free Exercise of their Religion, with their requisite Securities, without any Restriction or Modification: Protesting withal, that if there was any Article in the Confession of Faith which they had tendered to his Majesty some Years before, contrary to the Holy Scripture of the Canonical Books, they were ready to alter it, and renounce their Error. Such was the Substance of that Petition, which the King refused to receive till the Princes had laid down their Arms. The Duke of Montmorency wrote to the Admiral to certify him, that as soon as they had submitted themselves to this the King's Will, his Majesty would treat them as his faithful Subjects. But the Admiral answered with a Protest, calling to God and all the Princes of Europe, for the Uprightness of his Intentions, and casting all the Mischiefs of their just Defence upon the Obstinacy of the King's Enemies, and the Disturbers of the publick Peace (c).

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.



The Queen-Mother reviewed the Catholick Army, and going File by File she encouraged the Officers and the Troops, giving them very fair Words instead of Money. That Army was thirty thousand Men strong, that of the Princes twenty-five thousand. The Duke encamped at *la Roche-Labelie*, about a League distant from the Princes Army, where there was a bloody Skirmish, wherein the Catholicks lost above four hundred Men, and Strossy, Colonel of the French Infantry, was taken Prisoner. The Admiral, unwilling to come to a decisive Battle, caused his Troops to retreat. Two or three

VOL. III.

X

days

(c) Casteln. liv. VII. ch. vi. & vii.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. days after the Duke sent most part of his Army into the Garrisons of *Guienn*, there to refresh themselves, for they could not subsist in the *Limosine*, by reason of the great scarcity of Forage and Provisions.

By this time la Noüe, who had been made Governor of Poitou, Angoumois, Aulnix and the adjacent Countries, while the Princes and the Admiral were gone to meet the Germans, procured, by a Diversion, the Deliverance of *Niort*, besieged by the Count of Lude, who lost three hundred Men before that place, and retreated to *Poitiers*.

CV. The Royal Army being gone into Quarters of Refreshment as abovesaid, and the Duke of Anjou having joined the Court at Tours, the Princes Army took several places in the *Limosine*, and then marched into the Lower Poitou by the latter end of June. They took *Chatelleraud* and *Lusignan* by Composition, and then the Siege of *Poitiers* was resolved upon, against the Opinion of the Admiral and la Noüe; and having sat before that place above six Weeks, and lost three thousand Men, most part by Sickness, he was forced to raise the Siege, and to go to the Relief of *Chatelleraud*, besieged by the Duke of Anjou, who rais'd likewise that Siege, which he had undertaken only for Diversion's sake.

CVI. By this time, that is the 10th or 11th of September, the Parliament of Paris, at the Request of the King's Attorney-General Bourdin, had issued out a Proclamation against the Admiral, the Vidame of Chartres, and the Count of Montgomerie, whereby they were condemned to Death as guilty of High Treason, and a Reward of fifty thousand Crowns was offered to any one who should take the Admiral; then on the 28th of the

the same Month, for removing all Equivocation, the same Sum was offered to any one who should take the Admiral dead or alive, and free pardon, in case the Taker had been engaged in the same Rebellion; and for reflecting a greater Ignominy upon them, the Parliament caused their Pictures to be drawn upon a Cart, and hung publickly on the Gallows; the Cardinal of Lorraine caused the Proclamation to be translated into Latin, English, German, Italian, Spanish, and sent it over into those several Countries. But, as Castelnau observes, what availed these Decrees; for Men who were not afraid of an Army of thirty thousand strong, did these good Senators think to frighten them with Pen and Ink? This was only a Fuel for entertaining the Combustion.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.



However, the Admiral took no notice of it at first. But at last he was obliged to be cautious for himself; for while he was at *Faye la Vineuse*, **DOMINICK D'ALBE**, his Valet de Chambre, was charged with Treason, and with having attempted to poison him, and being convicted thereof by his own Confession, he was condemned to be hang'd, and was executed. This Man having been charged to carry some Letters of the Princes of Navarr and Condé, and of his Master, to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, was taken upon the Frontiers, at *Brissac*, by la Riviere, one of the Guards of the Duke of Anjou; he delivered his Letters, and declared his Commission to the Queen, the Duke, and the Cardinal of Lorraine; they bribed him with some pieces of Gold, and the Promises of a much greater Reward; he carried the Letters to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and brought those he received of him to la Riviere, and told him what he knew of the Germans Affairs. Riviere questioning not but the Rogue, having already been unfaith-

His Valet deChambre bribed to poison him.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.



ful to his Master, would henceforward stick at nothing, loaded him with new Promises, and told him that if he would poison his Master, he might expect the greatest Rewards ; he engaged himself to do it, and having received Money and some poisoned Powders, he came back to his Master, who was then before *Poitiers*. His long stay upon his Journey rendered him suspected to the Admiral ; he caused him to be arrested, and having confessed his Crime, he was condemned and executed, as abovesaid (*d*).

CVII.
*Exploits
and Injusti-
ces of Mont-
gomery in
Bearn.*

We have said that the Count of Montgomery had been sent into *Gascony*, to take upon him the Command of the Viscount's Army and to oppose Terride's progress in the *Bearn* : Now that General was so diligent and successful, that having assembled the Forces of the Viscount's with those which he could draw from the Garisons of *Castres*, *Castelnau d'Arry*, and other places, he marched into *Bearn*, notwithstanding the Oppositions of *Damville*, *Montluc*, and others, and forced Terride to raise the Siege of *Navarrins*, the only place remaining to the Queen of Navarr of all her Dominions in *Bearn*, and to fly into *Orez* ; he took that place by Storm, and Terride, who had shut up himself in the Castle with the chief Officers, was obliged to surrender by Composition ; which was not kept by Montgomery in all its points : for he detained Terride Prisoner of War, to exchange him for his Brother, and as to *St. Colombe*, *Favas*, *Pordiac*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, he had them tried, condemned and executed, as guilty of High Treason, because they were Subjects to the Queen of Navarr, and had taken Arms against her. Now what a pitiful
Pre-

(*d*) Mem. de Casteln. liv. VII. ch. viii. Thuan. liv. XLV. p. 593, 594.

Pretence was this? Ay! were the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, Montgomery himself, &c. were they not all of them Subjects to Charles the IXth? were they not in Arms against their lawful Sovereign? What then! were the Reformed only allowed to arm and attack the Catholics, and the Catholics not allowed to do the same against the Reformed? To what Extremes doth Passion or blind Zeal carry a Man! What Profit did Montgomery receive from this Act of Injustice and Cruelty? he afforded a Pretence to Montluc to behave himself like a mad Wolf against the poor Inhabitants of the Mount of *Marfan*; he did cast a Blemish upon the Queen of Navarr which can hardly be washed away by all the lustre of her Virtues and Royal Perfections; he whetted the Fury of the victorious Royalist, against the vanquished Army of the Princes at the Battle of *Montcontour*, which followed a little after; and passing Sentence of Death upon those unfortunate Lords and Gentlemen, he passed it against himself, which was executed upon him about four Years after. Having reduced the other places of *Bearn* under the Queen of Navarr's Obedience, he put strong Garrisons in the most considerable, and retired to *Nerac*, and from thence to *St. Mary*, where he joined the remainder of the Princes Army; after the Battle of *Montcontour*, whereof I am now to speak.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

The Duke of Anjou having crossed the *Vienne* with his Army, on the 26th of September entered into *Poitou*, and encamped near *Loudun*, where he found abundance of all sorts of Provisions, whereof he intended to deprive the Enemy; and the better to hinder them from passing into *Poitou*, and entering into *Guienn*, he proceeded to *Mirabel*, *Biron*, his Camp-Marshal,

CVIII.
The Battle of Montcontour.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

told him, that he had met with the Van-Guard of the Princes Army going to *Montcontour*, whereupon he resolved to give Battle. The Admiral was drawn to it, not by his own Inclination, but rather by the strong Sollicitations of the Troops of *Provence*, *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, that murmured continually, being so far from their home, exposed to so many hardships, they threaten'd to desert the Army; and the Germans, for want of Pay, were no less troublesome: In a word, the whole Army cried aloud after a decisive Battle, which might put an end to their Troubles and Miseries. The Admiral seeing himself reduced into that dangerous Dilemma, either to be deserted by the Army, or exposed to a Sedition under the Enemies eye, who might improve that Opportunity for oppressing him, feigned to be no less desirous of fighting than any of his Troops. Therefore being arrived, on the 30th of September, at *St. Claire*, two Leagues distant from *Montcontour*, he put his Army in array the next Morning in a plain Field hard-by; the Princes Forces amounted to six thousand Horse, French and German, eight thousand Arquebusiers, four thousand Foot armed with Pikes and long Spears, three Cannons, two Culverines, and three small Field-pieces, and no more, because the Admiral had sent the rest to *Lusignan*. But that day, and the 2d of October, there was nothing else but some Skirmishes between the two Armies; but on the third the Battle was engaged, and tho' at first the Victory seemed to incline on the Reformed side, nevertheless the Catholicks carried the day with great advantage.

Instead of describing the several Attacks, &c. I shall observe four or five things on this Battle.

1. That the Mutiny of the Troops in the Princes Army,

Army, occasioned the Battle as abovesaid, which was one of the most rash Attempts that ever was made during the War, for the Catholicks were much superior to the Reformed in number, being nine thousand Horse and eighteen thousand Foot strong, provided with seventeen good pieces of Artillery, which made a terrible havock in the Princes Army. 2. La Noüe relates, that the Night before the Battle, two Gentlemen unknown that followed the Catholick Army, came secretly near the Camp of the Reformed, and desired to speak to some body, having a Ditch between them; *Gentlemen, say they, tho' we have upon us the Marks of Enemies, nevertheless we do not hate you nor your Party. Warn the Admiral, from us, to forbear by all means from a general Battle; for our Army is wonderful strong since we have received the Reinforcements sent from all parts of the Kingdom, but let him spin out the time only for a Month, for the Nobility has declared upon Oath to the Duke, that they will not stay any longer, and that he must employ them during that time;—if they are not victorious very soon, they will be obliged to come to a Peace, for several Reasons, and they will grant it advantageous. Tell him, that we know this from very good hands, and that we have earnestly desired to give him notice of it.* The Admiral and several other chief Officers thought that the Advice was very good, and ought to be followed; but the Majority were of a contrary Opinion, and looked upon it as a trick of the Enemy, therefore he was forced to follow the Stream against his Will. 3. The new Mutiny of the German Foot, and some Regiments of Reisters, on the very day of the Battle, who refused to fight till they were paid, obliged the Admiral to spend about two Hours time before he could appease them; and

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. he lost by that means an Opportunity of seizing upon a much better place than that where he was, and which was occupied by the Duke of Anjou. 4. The Admiral having been wounded with a Musket-shot in the Cheek, and received another Wound in his Arm at the beginning of the Battle, was obliged to steal away, being not able to bear any longer with the Acuteness of the Pain, and the great loss of blood, which occasioned some Confusion in his Army. 5. The loss of the Princes was very great, besides their Artillery, all the Baggage of the Germans, all the Colours of the Foot. They lost about 4500 Foot and 350 Horse; besides a great number of Servants, about 3000 were taken Prisoners of War, amongst whom were la Noüe, and the Count of Crussol, but several of them were barbarously murdered in cool Blood, by the Soldiery, in revenge for what they had done unto them at *la Roche-la-belie*, and for the Executions in *Bearn*, by Montgomery; and la Noüe would have shared the same fate, had it not been for the Duke of Anjou, who rescued him out of their hands.

The Pope was very angry with his Nephew, the Count of Santafiore, for his having not killed the Count of Crussol, as he had commanded him, rather than to take him Prisoner; however, he was released by his Orders without Ransom, that it might appear that his Troops fought only the Destruction of the Sectaries, and not prey and plunder. *What a piece of Generosity is this! what a Christian means of converting the Hereticks!* Amongst the Slain there were four French Noblemen, viz. Puy-greffier, Autricourt, Biron, Brother to the outwardly Catholick who served in the King's Army, and St. Cyr, an old Gentleman of 85 Years of Age;

I do not reckon the German Officers, several of whom were wounded.

On the Catholick side the Loss was considerable, as to the Number, for it amounted to no more than 5 or 600 Horse, besides few of the Foot, but amongst them there was several Lords and Chief Officers, such as the Marquess of Baden, the Count Rhingrave, Scipio Piccolomini, &c. many were wounded, several of whom died in a few days after (e).

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

The Princes seeing the rout of their Army had retreated in good time to *Parthenai*; from whence the Admiral had desired them to come to their Army in order to appease the murmurs of the Troops: The broken Remnants of the Army took the same refuge, at least most part of them; the Princes, the Admiral and their Council, questioning not but the King would magnify his Victory every where, thought proper to send Expresses to England, Scotland, Denmark, and Switzerland, to give an account of the Battle, and of the Condition wherein they were now reduced, intreating these several Powers to send a speedy supply of Necessaries to withstand their Enemies. Then, having taken a little rest, they set out at three in the Morning on the 4th of October for *Niort*, where they arrived the next day, and the same day arrived in the same Town from *Rochelle* Henry Champernoun with a hundred English Horse; he was very honourably received by the Princes, as he had been by the Queen of Navarr.

Retreat of the Princes.

Queen Elizabeth not only did what she could to relieve the Princes in that emergency, but sent likewise Orders to her Embassadors to the Protestant

(e) Thuan. lib. 46. p. 597, — 601. Casteln. liv. ch. 9. La Nouë 981, — 989. Dinoth. lib. 4 pag. 278, — 281. D'Avila has many mistakes in the relation of that Battle.

Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. Protestant Princes, to exhort them to continue in the Assistance for the Defence of a CAUSE which was common to them all.

On the other hand, the Duke of Anjou after his Victory, sent an Express to the King his Brother, who was at *Tours*, to congratulate him upon the happy Success of his Arms; at the same time he held a Council of War, and the Opinions were divided, the wisest were for pursuing without loss of Time the Princes and the broken remnants of their Army; had they followed that Advice, the Reformed were intirely undone; but the worst Opinion prevailed, which was to seize upon all the Places in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge* occupied by the Reformed, whereby they gave time to the Admiral to recruit his Forces, and to become more formidable to his Enemies, than ever he had been before, as we shall see presently.

Accordingly, the Duke marched with the Army to *Parthenay*, and the Gates were immediately opened; then he proceeded to *Niort*, from whence the Princes were gone, leaving in the Place *Mouy* with 500 Arquebusiers and a Cornet of Horse, with orders to stop the Army as long as he could, while they would reach *Rochelle*; therefore he refused to surrender, and having made a Sally upon the Enemies, as he came back into the Town he was wounded in the Back with a Pistol Shot by *DE LOUVIERS MAUREVEL*, the same who wounded treacherously the Admiral at Paris about three Years and a half after.

That base Man had been brought up amongst the Pages of the Lorrain Princes, and had given very early Proofs of his vicious Inclinations, for having been very severely chastised by the Governor, for some grievous Offence by him committed,

CIX
*Exploits of
the Duke
after the
Battle.*

*Siege of
Niort.*

*Mony
wounded by
Maurevel.*

*Some Ac-
count of
that Man.*

committed, he killed him proditoriously, and fled into the Spanish Army after the Battle of *Renty*, and remained amongst them, till the Peace being made with Philip, he ingratiated himself again into the Guises Family; being allured by the great Reward promised to whoever should take the Admiral dead or alive, he undertook the Work, and having received some Money he came into the Princes Camp, and feigned a great Inclination for the Reformed Religion, and complained likewise of many wrongs done to him by the Guises, he ingratiated himself into the familiarity of some of the Chief, and especially of Mouy. Seeing that he had often attempted in vain to execute upon the Admiral what he had promised, and fearing lest he should be discovered, he resolved to make amends for it, by murdering Mouy, which he executed in part as above said, and fled upon a swift Horse, which Mouy himself had given him, to the Duke's Camp.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.



The Governor being so desperately wounded was forced to leave *Niort* to go to *La Rochelle*, where he died a few days after; *Niort* was surrendered, then *Lusignan*, *Fontenay*, *Chatelleraud*, and several others did the same, all Poitou was reduced in ten days, the Garrisons whereof retired, some to *Sancerre*, others to *La Charité*.

After the taking of *Niort*, the King, the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal of Lorraine came to the Camp, it was debated in the Council what was then to be done; the worst Opinion was again followed, viz. to take all the Places which held for the Reformed; accordingly they sent an Herald to St. John of Angely. wherein PILES, that brave Hero (whereof mention has been made in our second Vol.) commanded, to summon him to surrender, which he refusing to do, tho' the

The Court comes to the Duke's Camp.

Siege of St. John of Angely.

Place

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

It capitulates.

Place was but meanly fortified, and not strong by Situation, it was attacked by the Royal Army, the King's Majesty present; and by the brave resistance of Piles, it held about two Months, when the Walls being all down, wanting of Ammunition, and without hopes of being relieved, he surrendered it by Capitulation; the Articles whereof were in Substance as follow, that they should not bear Arms for the CAUSE for four Months together; that they should march out with their Arms, Baggage, and other things unto them belonging, but Colours folded, and go with safety where-ever they pleased; that those of the Inhabitants that would follow the Garrison might do it, and carry along with them whatever they would; that those of the Reformed Inhabitants that would remain in the Town, should not be molested on account of their Religion, nor on any other soever for what-ever was past, provided they should forbear to meet together for Divine Worship.

These Articles were signed by his Majesty, but so ill kept, that the Garrison, consisting of 800, Foot and 100 Horse, was hardly arrived in the Suburb, when they were robbed of their Arms and every thing else, and some were killed, those that could escape came to *Angoulême*, and thought themselves freed from their Engagements, since the Enemies had the first violated the 2d and 3d Article of the Capitulation.

The Besieged lost during the Siege about 100 Men, but the Besiegers, according to Castelnau there present, above 3000 Men, amongst whom was the Viscount of Martigues, Duke of Pontievre, who was killed with a Musket-Ball; but according to Thuanus, the number amounted to 6000, either killed or dead with Sickness.

The very same day that the Garrison marched out,

out, that is on the 3d of December, the King entered into that Town, and having settled every thing the best as he could, for the keeping of *Xaintonges*, he went to *Angers*.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

It is to be observed, that this Siege of *St. John* was no less prejudicial to the King's Affairs, than that of *Poitiers* had been to the Princes; they both committed the same error, in staying obstinately before a Place which could not be of great Service unto them, and weakening thereby their Army to no purpose, and that as the Princes Affairs began to decline by the Siege of *Poitiers*, and those of the King to be flourishing, so the King's Affairs fall into decay by the Siege of *St. John*, and those of the Princes began to be restored (*f*).

Court re-
moves to
Angers.

After the Battle of *Montcontour*, and at the beginning of the Siege of *St. John*, *Montbrun*, and *Mirabel* with the Prince's leave were gone into their own Country, as well for raising new Recruits, as for securing *Privas* and *Aubenas* in the *Vivaretz*; but as they went through *Perigord* with *Verbelet* that went to command in *Aurillac* with 300 Horse and 800 Foot, 200 of these and more that had staid behind were routed at crossing of *Dordogne* by the Garrisons of *Sarlat*, and others.

Divers ex-
ploits of the
Reformed.

About the same time *Nimes* was surprized by the Reformed of *Languedoc*; the Garrison retired into the Castle under the command of *St. Astoul*, and having held out for about three Months, were at last forced to capitulate.

Nimes sur-
prised by
them.

Vezelay in *Burgundy* having been seized for the Princes by *Dutarot*, and some other Gentlemen of the Country, withstood all the Efforts of *Sanfac*, who after three Assaults was obliged to raise the Siege with the loss of above 1800 Men; he had

And *Veze-
lay*.

(*f*) La Noue *ibid.* Casteln. liv. vii. ch 10. Thuau. lib. 46.

Charles IX. had not been more fortunate before La Charité, where Guerchy commanded.

1569. A little before the Battle of *Montcontour*, it happened at Orleans, that the Provost having commanded the Reformed Inhabitants, on pretence of their own Security, to lodge in the Prisons of the City; most part of them were so credulous to obey him, and part came into the Tower of Martinville, while the others retired into that of the four Corners. A few days after the Mob, provoked by the Preachers, ran to the Tower, and having entered into it, they murdered them all to one, without any regard for Age or Sex. Those that had ran to that of the four Corners, unable to break the Gates, set fire to them, the Neighbours carrying great quantity of Wood, most part of the Reformed shut in it suffered themselves to be burnt, the other, having thrown their Children over the Walls and seen them received upon the Point of the Spears, or barbarously murdered in another way, leaped over and were murdered in the same manner; 280 Persons perished in these two Places. Which occasioned the flight of many Reformed of the adjacent Places to Montargis, where many had been preserved under the Protection of the Dutchess of Ferrara, Grand Aunt to the King, who made a publick Profession of the Reformed Religion; neither she, nor her Ministers could approve of the Civil Wars for Religion's sake, she blamed it in such a manner, that the Prince of Condé quarrell'd with her upon that Subject, and it was for that very reason that she was tolerated by the Court.

But the Preachers at Paris provoked the King against her on account of her receiving the poor Refugees; he obliged her to send away 460 Persons, the two Thirds thereof were Women and Children,

Great Cruelties of the Catholics.

Children, that could not walk ; that generous Princess provided those poor distressed People with 150 Carts and eight Coaches with the Provisions for their Journey. But Malicorne who had brought the King's Order to that Princess, resenting some high Words which she had said to him, sent word to Villebeuf, Entragues, and some others to lie in ambush in a Wood whereby they were to pass ; but as the Men were warned by some runners, that that Troop had taken another Way, they came out of the Wood, in order to go and murder them upon the Road to *Briare*. At the sight of those Murderers that hastened Hanger in Hand, BEAUMONT, Minister of the Church of Orleans, put up Prayers to God at the Head of the whole Troop kneeling down, and exhorted them with the most pathetick Words to submit themselves to the Will of God.

„ It is enough, says he, my Brethren, going
 „ out of the Way, and endeavouring to avoid
 „ the Passage unto Heaven where God calls us,
 „ there is none of us but must be bodily fati-
 „ gued, and our Souls must be almost ashamed
 „ with our repeated flight ; Death will cure our
 „ Bodies and Souls, tired with the Roads of
 „ this World, but much more with his Ways.
 „ What do you think these Murderers will do ?
 „ They will deliver us from their own Wicked-
 „ ness. Where were we a running ? To an Exile,
 „ to Hunger, to Ignominy, and after all to
 „ Death. Into what Place will these Murderers
 „ send us ? To the Place of our Hopes, of our
 „ Desires, to our Canaan so much longed for,
 „ into Eternal Glory, to the blessed Vision of
 „ God, to that Life which only can be pro-
 „ perly so called. Let us not flee any longer
 „ from that Life, let us stretch our Hands to
 „ Death, and kiss that Hand which God stretches
 „ unto

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.



Charles IX. 1569. Pope Pius V. } „ unto us ; let us die like Lambs, for the sake
 „ of the Lamb who died for us. Here our Enemies hasten to our Deliverance ; it is the Will of God to receive us by their Hands ; let us hasten to come before his Presence, and to sing, I commit my Spirit into thine Hands, for thou hast redeemed me O Lord God of Truth.”

While he was speaking, the Enemy had advanced about half a Mile, and were not half a quarter of a Mile distant, when an unexpected Accident happened : Some Captains coming from the great Army of the Princes, or according to others, from *Normandy*, with seventy Horse, were discovered at a small distance in that instant. These People took them at first for a new Band of Enemies, and disposed themselves to die, but one of these Gentlemen, as they came near them, knew a Gentlewoman of that distressed Troop that was one of his Relations. Then they pulled off their great Coats, and shewed their white Cassocks, which was the Colour of the Prince's Army ; having been told of the Danger they were in, and seeing the Murderers not far off with Hangers in their hands, they ran to them, and the whole Gang, one only excepted, were put to the Sword. It is more easy to imagine than to represent by Words, the Joy felt by that whole Troop at such wonderful Deliverance, and the Shame and Confusion of the Murderers. A young Woman married at Orleans was delivered of a Child in the Cart during the Conflict without any Pain, tho' before, while she was at her ease at home, she underwent great Labours, before she could be delivered (g).

It would be time now to speak of the Prince's Journey with their Army from the Borders of the *Ocean*, into the middle of Burgundy ; but not to be

(g) D'Aubigné Hist. Univ. Tom. I. liv. v. ch. 13.

obliged to break the thread of that Narration, I shall relate here in two Words, what was done in the West Countries until the Peace.

Charles IX.
1569.
Pope Pius V.

The Civil Wars have their tides and their ebbs like the Sea, sometimes one Party rise up, then it falls, and again it rises; so it happened in this War, especially in the Provinces of *Poitou, Xaintonge, Aulnix, &c.* they were taken and retaken three or four times by the Catholicks and the Reformed; and at last they were almost all in the Reformed's hands, when the Peace was made: we have seen them almost reduced to the King's Obedience, when his Majesty set out from *St. John of Angely* to go to *Angers*; but *La Nouë* having been exchanged for *Strossy* General of the Infantry, at that time called Colonel of the Foot, was no sooner at liberty, but he came to *Rochelle*, where his Presence was much requisite and desired, and took upon him the Government of these Provinces that had been trusted to his Care, as above said.

Exploits of La Nouë in Xaintonge, &c.

That City was no less, if not more, useful to the Reformed in this and the next Wars than *Orleans* had been in the former; but besides, its strength and the commodiousness of its Situation, it cannot be said what Profit it brought to the common CAUSE by the Fleet that was fitted out in its Haven, especially a large Ship of one thousand six hundred Tons, called *LA HUGUENOTTE*, whose Prizes put the Princes in a condition of discharging most part of the Expences of the War.

La Nouë being arrived; his first Care was to clear the adjacent Islands of all the Royal Garrisons that annoyed the Country, he took one way or another either by Intelligence, Composition, or by Storm, most of the Towns, Castles, and Strong-Holds of *Aulnix, Xaintonge, and Lower*

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Poitou; then he experienced in his turn, that there is nothing permanent in this World, having lost most part of his Conquests, he saw himself almost shut up in *Rochelle*. The Baron of La Garde, alias Captain Paulin, mentioned in our first Vol. infested the Seas on that side, and hindered Provisions, and other things from coming into that City. Puy-gaillard and other Catholick Officers undertook to block it up by Land, and build a Fort hard by for that purpose. La Nouë was not deficient to himself, he took his time, routed Puy-gaillard at Luçon, conquered again what he had lost, forced La Garde to flee into *Bourdeaux*, and restored *la Rochelle, Aulnix, Xaintonge* and *Lower Poitou* into as good a Condition, as they had been from the beginning of this War; but he had the Misfortune to be wounded at the Siege of *Fontenay*, in the Month of June 1570, and lost his Arm. Several other Exploits were made in those Parts, which for brevity sake, I shall omit here, observing only that the Reformed prevailed in these Provinces when the Peace was made. Now we must speak of the wonderful March of the Princes, from *Rochelle* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, from thence beyond the *Rhône*, and from thence almost to Paris.

I am sure, it would be as tedious to the
Great Journey of Reader as to myself, should I undertake to give
the Prince: a full Description of all the Streights, Passages, Mountains, Rivers, taking of the Cities, Boroughs, and of the Oppositions they had to overcome in the Countries of *Perigord, Quercy, Languedoc, Gascony, Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Forests, Vivarez, Champagne, Burgundy*, and others of the Kingdom, which they crossed with a thousand Difficulties.

It will be enough, methinks, to make some general Observations upon the whole.

As to the Design of that Journey, the Admiral himself

himself told Castelnau, that it was less for refreshing their Army, than for paying their Reisters with the Plunder of several Cities and Boroughs, and for strengthening themselves with the Troops of Montgomery, who joined them at *St. Mary*, and with others from *Gascony* and *Bearn*, as also for receiving the Forces which *Montbrun*, *Mirabel*, *St. Romain*, and others intended to raise in *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, waiting for new Auxiliaries from Germany, which the Count Palatine of the *Rhine* and the Prince of *Orange* had promised to them, to the end, that all these Forces being re-united together with the Germans, which they expected to receive upon the Frontiers of *Burgundy*, they might be in a Condition for coming to the very Gates of *Paris*, and try another Battle; such was their design.

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Therefore having left the Count of *La Rochefoucault* at *Rochelle*, and made such other Regulations, they set out from *Saintes* on the 25th of October, with all their French and German Horse, and about three thousand Foot, under the Command of *Rouvray*. Eight days after they crossed the *Dordogne* at *Argental*, passing through *Rouergue* and *Quercy*; they crossed the *Lot* at *Cadenat*, and arrived at last at *Montauban*, there they were joined with the Troops of the Viscounts, and took their Winter-Quarters in these Parts. At the beginning of the Spring, they fell upon the Places round about the City of *Thoulouse*, wasted and burnt them all, especially those belonging to the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament of that City, in revenge for their exceeding Cruelty towards the Reformed, and for the murder of *Rapin*, whom they had so unjustly condemned and executed, when he came in their City from the King, with the Edict of the Peace of *Chartres*, as aforesaid. *Damville* was at *Thou-*

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

louse with his Forces, but they were not sufficient for opposing the Princes. Their Army penetrated into the County of *Roussillon*, which was no better spared than the Neighbourhood of *Thoulouse*, as belonging to the Spaniards. From thence they marched into *Languedoc*, and having approached the *Rhône*, the Count Ludovic of Nassau crossed it with part of the Army, for assaulting some Places. But the main design of the Princes was to draw some Infantry from *Dauphiné*, wherein they had not so well succeeded in *Languedoc* and *Gascony*, because the Soldiers, very willing to fight in their own Country could not bear with the thought of going so far as Paris, and the very heart of the Kingdom, because of the great Miseries their own Countrymen had undergone. Notwithstanding which, three thousand of them, stout and resolute Fellows had listed themselves, resolved to follow the Princes where-ever they should go; and rode on horseback because of the great length and difficulties of the Road.

Though the Negotiations for Peace were on foot since the Battle of *Montcontour*, (for the Queen-Mother immediately after that Battle had sent the Lord *Castelnau* to the Queen of Navarr for making the Overture of it, and *Telligny* and *Beauvais La Nocle* had been deputed by the Princes to *Angers* upon that account, after the taking of *St. John*;) the Admiral had too great Experience not to be sensible, that they could not obtain a good one, unless they should come near Paris. But the difficulty of the Roads through the Mountains of *Cevennes* and *Vivarets*, occasioned some delays, and much more his great Sickness in *St. Stephen* of *Foretz*, where he was in great danger of his Life, which caused a general Consternation in the whole Army.

Being recovered, there came Biron and Malafise by the latter end of May, to notify to the Princes and the Admiral, as they had done in their way to the Queen of Navarr, the final Intention and Answer of his Majesty to the Petitions tendered by Telligny and Beauvais la Noche, in the Name of the Reformed, which was in substance, that his Majesty would grant them Liberty of Conscience, and two Places in the Kingdom where they might live as they pleased under the King's Authority, who would name the Governors of these two Places, but that he should not allow the free publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion any where else in his Kingdom, besides these two Places.

Charles IX.
1570.
Pope Pius V.

These Conditions were too hard and unreasonable to be accepted. Therefore the Princes marched out, and made such diligence, that they arrived in *Burgundy* by the middle of July, and encamped near *Arnay le Duc*, where they were attacked by the Marshal of Cossé, with an Army twice superiour in Number to the Princes, and well provided with Artillery, whereas the Princes had none at all; but by the brave Resistance of their Troops, who stoutly withstood their Enemies, they were repulsed. The Catholicks seeing that it was not possible for them to force their Retrenchments, retreated into their Quarters, and the Reformed, wanting Powder and other Ammunitions, went by long Marches to *La Charité*, and other Places of their own Party, where they might be provided with these things, and marched to Paris. But a Truce of ten days having been agreed upon, put an end to the Hostilities, and the Peace was concluded at last on the 8th of August, after ten Months, or thereabout, of Negotiation; the Articles whereof are as follow (b).

Y 3 EDICT

(b) Casteln. liv. vii. ch. 12. Thuan. liv, 46, 17. La Nouë Disc. Polit & Milit. pag. 996. — 1009. Dinoth, Hist. lib. iv. p. 306 to 315.

Charles

IX.

1570.

Pope Pius

V.

CXI.

*Edict of**Peace.*EDICT of King Charles IX, about the
Pacification of the Troubles.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *France*,
to all those present and hereafter to come
GREETING. Considering the great Evils and Calamities occasioned by the Troubles and Wars, wherewith our Kingdom has been long, and is still afflicted; and foreseeing the Desolation that might ensue, unless, by the Grace and Mercy of God, the said Troubles were speedily pacified: We, in order to put an end to the same, to remedy the Afflictions that proceed from thence, to restore and make our Subjects live in Peace, Union, Quiet, and Tranquillity, as it has always been our Intention, to let it be known, that after having taken the good and prudent Advice of the Queen, our most dear and honoured Lady and Mother, &c. We have by their good Counsel and Advice, and for the Causes and Reasons above-said, and other good and great Considerations, Us thereunto moving, by this present Edict, perpetual and irrevocable, said, declar'd, and enacted, and do ordain, will and resolve what followeth.

I. That the Remembrance of all things past on both sides, from the very beginning of, and since the Troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, and on the account of the same, shall be extinguish'd and laid aside, as of Matter that had never happen'd; and that it shall not be lawful for our Attorney-General, neither for any publick or private Persons whatever, at any time, nor on any Occasion soever to mention the same, or to commence any Process, or Suit thereof in any Court or Jurisdiction.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Rank, or Quality soever, to revive the Remembrance thereof;

thereof; to injure or provoke each other by Reproaches for what is past. To dispute, contest, quarrel, wrong, or offend one another in word or deed, but to forbear, and live peaceably together like Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on Pain, for the Delinquents, of being punish'd as infractors of the Peace, and perturbators of the publick Quiet.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

III. It is our Will and Pleasure that the Roman Catholick Religion shall be restor'd in all Parts and Places of this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, where the Exercise of the same has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably exercised, without the least trouble or hindrance, on the Penalties above mentioned. And that all those, who, during the present War, have seized on Houses, Goods or Revenues belonging to Ecclesiasticks, or other Catholicks, who detain and possess the same, shall surrender them the entire Possession, and peaceable Enjoyment thereof, with the same freedom and safety they enjoy'd them before their being dispossest of the same.

IV. And that there may remain no occasion of difference or contention among our Subjects, We have, and do allow, those of the said pretended Reformed Religion, to live and inhabit in all the Cities and Parts of this our Kingdom, and Territories under our Obedience, without being urg'd, vex'd, or molested, or constrain'd to do any thing against their Conscience, in point of Religion: Nor to be examin'd in their Houses, or Places where they shall inhabit upon the said account, provided they behave themselves according to what is contain'd in the present Edict.

V. We have also given leave to all Gentlemen, and other Persons, actual Inhabitants, and others possessing in our Kingdom and Territories

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

of our Obedience, High Jurisdiction, or Full (a) *Fief d'Haubert*, as in Normandy, whether in proper or in usufruct, in the whole or in part, to have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or *Fief* which they shall nominate for their Principal Abode to our Bailiffs or Seneschals, every one in his Precinct the Exercise of the Religion they call Reform'd, as long as they reside there; and in their Absence, their Wives or Children, whom^r they shall answer for; and they shall be oblig'd to name the said Houses to our Bailiffs or Seneschals, before they should enjoy the Benefit thereof: They shall also enjoy the same in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or of the said *Fief d'Haubert*, as long as they shall be actually there, and no otherwise, the whole as well for themselves as their Families, Subjects and others who shall be willing to go there.

VI. In Houses of *Fief*, where the said Reform'd shall have no High Jurisdiction, and *Fief d'Haubert*, they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise of Religion for their Families: Yet in case any of their Friends should chance to come there, to the Number of Ten, or some Christning happen in haste, the Company not exceeding the Number of Ten, they shall not be persecuted, or troubled for the same.

VII. And to gratify our most dear and most belov'd Aunt, the Queen of Navarr, we have allow'd her, besides what has been above granted to the said Lords High Justices, over and above in every one of her Dutchy of Albret, Counties of Armagnac, Foix, Bigorre, in a House belonging to her, in which she shall have High Jurisdiction, which House shall be by us chosen and nominated, there to have the said Exercise perform'd for all

(a) An Inheritance held immediately and in capite of the King.

all such, as shall desire to assist thereat, even in her Absence.

VIII. Those of the said Religion shall also be allowed the Exercise thereof in the following Places, viz. For the Government of the Isle of France, in the Suburbs of Clermont in Beauvaisis, and in those of Crespi in Laonnois. For the Government of Champagne and Brie, besides the Fezelai, which they possess at this time, in the Suburbs of Villenoce. For the Government of Burgundy, in the Suburbs of Arnai-le-Duc, and in those of Mailli-la-ville. For the Government of Picardy, in the Suburbs of Mondidier, and in those of Riblemont. For the Government of Normandy, in the Suburbs of Ponteaude-mer, and in those of Carentan. For the Government of Lyonnois, in the Suburbs of Charlieu, and in those of St. Geni-de-Laval. For the Government of Bretagne, in the Suburbs of Becherel and in those of Kerbez. For the Government of Dauphiné, in the Suburbs of Crest, and in those of Chorges. For the Government of Provence, in the Suburbs of Merindol, and in those of Forcalquier. For the Government of Languedoc, besides Aubenas, which they are in possession of, in the Suburbs of Montaignac. For the Government of Guienne, at Bergerac, besides St. Sever, which they are also in Possession of. And for that of Orleans, Le Maine, and Le Pays Chartrain, besides Sancerre which they have, in the Town of Mailly.

IX. Moreover, we have also granted them to continue the Exercise of the said Religion in all the Cities, in which it was publickly perform'd on the first day of this present Month of August.

X. Forbidding them most expressly to make any Exercise of the said Religion, either as to the Ministry, Regulation, Discipline, or publick Institution

Charles IX.

1570.
Pope Pius V.

Charles XI. Institution of Children, or others, in any Place besides those above granted and allow'd.

1570. XI. Neither shall any Exercise of the said
Pope Pius pretended Reformed Religion be perform'd in
V. our Court, or within two Leagues round about it.

XII. Neither do we allow the Exercise of the said Religion within the City, Provostship, and Vice-county of Paris, nor within ten Leagues of the said City; which ten Leagues we have, and do limit to the following Places, viz. Senlis and the Suburbs; Meaux and the Suburbs; Melun and the Suburbs; a League beyond Chartres, under Mount Le Hery; Dourdan and the Suburbs; Rambouillet-Houdan and the Suburbs; a long League beyond Melun, Vigni, Meru, St. Leu de Serens; in all which abovesaid Places, we do not allow any Exercise of the said Religion: Nevertheless, those of the said Religion shall not be disturb'd in their Houses, provided they behave themselves as aforesaid.

XIII. We do enjoin our Bailiffs, Seneschals or ordinary Judges, each in their Precincts, to appoint Places for them of their own, either such as they have heretofore acquir'd, or such as they shall purchase, there to bury their Dead; and that at the time of their Decease, one of the House or Family shall go to acquaint the Captain of the Watch therewith, who shall send for the Grave-digger of the Parish, and order him to go with such a Number of Serjeants of the Watch, as he shall think fit to allow, to accompany him, and to prevent Scandal, to remove the Corps in the Night, and so carry it to the Place appointed for that purpose, only allowing ten Persons to accompany it: And in such Towns as have no Captain of the Watch, the Judges of the Place shall appoint some other Ministers of Justice.

XIV.

XIV. Those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to marry, in such degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, as are prohibited by the Laws received in this Kingdom.

Charles IX.
1570.
Pope Pius V.

XV. All Scholars, the Sick and Poor, shall be received in the Universities, Schools, Hospitals, &c. without difference or distinction upon the account of Religion.

XVI. And to the end, that no question may be made of the good Intention of our said Aunt, the Queen of Navarr, of our most dear and most beloved Brother and Cousin, the Princes of Navarr and of Condé, Father and Son, we have said and declar'd, do say and declare, That we hold and repute them our good Relations, faithful Subjects and Servants.

XVII. As also all Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, and other Inhabitants of the Cities, Corporations, Villages and Hamlets, and other Places of our said Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, who have follow'd and assisted them in any Part whatever, for our good Loyal Subjects and Servants.

XVIII. And likewise the Duke of Deux-Ponts and his Children, the Prince of Orange, Count Ludovic and his Brothers, Count Wolrat of Mansfeld, and other Foreign Lords, who have aided and assisted them, for our good Neighbours, Relations and Friends.

XIX. And our said Aunt, as our said Brother, and Cousin, Lords, Gentlemen, Officers, Cities, Corporations, Commonalties, and others who have aided and assisted them, their Heirs, and Successors, shall remain acquitted and discharged, as we do acquit and discharge them by these Presents, for all Sums of Money by them, or their Order, taken and rais'd out of our Offices of Receipt and Treasures, whatever Sums they may amount to, as well as out of Cities, Commonalties,

or

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

or from particular Persons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sale of Goods both Ecclesiastical and others, Forests belonging to us, or others, Fines, Booties, Ransoms, or other kind of Sums taken by them, upon the account of the present, as well as precedent Wars: Neither shall they, or those by them appointed for the raising of the said Sums, or those that have given and furnish'd the same, be any ways troubled or called to an Account for the same, either now, or hereafter: And both they and the said Clerks shall be discharg'd for all the Management and Administration thereof, only producing for a full Discharge, Acquittances from our said Aunt, or from our said Borthor and Cousin, or from those that shall have been appointed by them, for the examination and passing of the same. They shall also be acquitted and discharg'd for all Acts of Hostility, Levies, marching of Soldiers, Coining, casting and taking of Artilleries and Ammunitions, either out of our Magazines, or from particular Persons; making of Powder and Salt-Petre; taking, fortifying, dismantling, and demolishing of Cities and Towns; Enterprizes upon the same; burning and demolishing of Temples and Houses; establishing of Courts of Justice, Judgments and Executions by them; Voyages, Intelligences, Treaties, Negotiations, and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes and Communities; introducing of the said Foreigners into the Cities, and other Parts of our Kingdom. And generally, for all that has been done, managed and negotiated, during, and since the present, first and second Troubles, tho' neither particularly express'd nor specified.

XX. And those of the said pretended Reformed Religion shall depart and desist from all Associations they have made at home or abroad; and henceforwards shall raise no Money without our leave,

leave, or list any Men; neither shall they hold Congregations or Assemblies, otherwise than above said, and without Arms; all which we prohibit, on pain of being rigorously punish'd as Contemners and Infractors of our Commands and Ordinances.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

XXI. All Places, Cities and Provinces, shall remain and enjoy the same Privileges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchises, Jurisdictions, and Seats of Justice, they had before the Troubles.

XXII. And to remove all Cause of Complaint for the future, we have declar'd, and do declare, those of the said Religion, capable to hold and exercise all Estates, Dignities, and publick Employments, both Seignorial, and of the Cities belonging to this Kingdom; and to be admitted and received without Distinction into all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies, Estates and Functions, depending on the things abovesaid, without being any ways rejected or hindred from enjoying the same, immediately after the Publication of this present Edict.

XXIII. Neither shall those of the pretended Reformed Religion be over-charg'd or burthen'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Taxes, more than the Catholicks, and according to their Estates and Substances. Moreover, in Consideration of the great Charges those of the said Religion take upon themselves, they shall be free from all other Taxations the Cities shall impose for the Expences past; but they shall contribute to all such as shall be impos'd by us; as also for the future to all those of Cities, like Catholicks.

XXIV. All Prisoners that are detained either by the Authority of Justice or otherwise, even in the Gallies, on the account of the present Troubles, shall be releas'd and put at liberty on both Sides, without paying any Ransom; but yet the
Ransoms

Charles
IX.
1569.
Pope Pius
V.

Ransoms that have been paid already shall not be re-demanded or recover'd of those that have received them.

XXV. And as to the Differences that might arise upon the account of the aforesaid Sales of Lands, or other Immoveables; Bonds or Mortgages given on account of the said Ransoms; as also, for all other Disputes belonging to the case of Arms that may occur, the Parties concerned shall repair to our said most dear and most beloved Brother the Duke of Anjou, to summon the Marshals of France, and he shall decide and determine the same.

XXVI. We order, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said Religion, as well in general as in particular, shall be restored, preserved, maintained, and kept under our Protection and Authority, into all and every their Estates, Rights, and Actions, Honours, Estates, Places, Pensions, and Dignities, of what Quality soever they be, except the Bailiffs and Seneschals of the long Gown, and their Lieutenant-General, in the room of which others have been placed by us during the present War; to whom Assignations shall be given to reimburse them the true Value of their said Offices, out of the clear Money of our Revenue; unless they had rather be Councillors in our Courts of Parliament within their Precinct, or of the great Council, at our Choice; in which case, they shall only be reimburs'd of the Overplus of the Value thereof, in case it fall out so; as they shall also pay the Surplus, if their Offices were of less Value.

XXVII. The Moveables that shall be found in being, not having been taken by way of Hostility, shall be restor'd to the Owners; however, returning the Purchasers the Price they have been sold at by Authority of Justice, or by other publick

lick Order, as well belonging to Catholicks, as to those of the said Religion. And for the Performance of the same, the Detainers of the said Moveables shall be constrained to make immediate Restitution thereof, without delay, all oppositions or exceptions notwithstanding; and to return and to restore them to the Owners for the Price they have cost them.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

XXVIII. And as for the Fruits or Revenues of the Immoveables, every one shall re-enter into his House, and reciprocally enjoy the Income of the gathering of the present Year. All Seizures or Oppositions made to the contrary, during the Troubles notwithstanding. As also every one shall enjoy the Arrears of Rent that shall not have been taken by us, or our Order, Permission, or Ordinance from us, or our Justice.

XXIX. Also the Forces and Garrisons that are, or shall be in Houses, Places, Cities, and Castles, belonging to our said Subjects of whatever Religion, immediately retire out of the same, after the Publication of the present Edict, to leave them the free and intire Possession thereof, as they enjoyed it before their being dispossess'd.

XXX. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that our dear and well-beloved Cousins, the Prince of Orange, and Count Ludovic of Nassau, his Brother, shall be actually restored and re-established into all the Lands, Lordships, and Jurisdic-tions they have in our said Kingdoms and Terri-tories under our Obedience; as also to the Prin-cipality of Orange, the Rights, Titles, Papers, Informations, and Dependancies of the same, ta-ken by our Lieutenant-Generals, and other Mini-sters by us employ'd to that end; the which shall be to the said Prince of Orange, and the Count his Brother, restor'd in the same Condition they enjoy'd them before the Troubles; and shall en-joy

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

joy the same hence-forward, according to the Letters Patent, Decrees, and Declarations granted by the late King Henry of most laudable Memory, our most honoured Lord and Father, whom God absolve, and other Kings our Predecessors, as they did before the Troubles.

XXXI. We also will and require, that all Titles, Papers, Instructions, and Informations, that have been taken, be restor'd and return'd on both sides to their true Owners.

XXXII. And in order to extinguish and lay aside as much as can be the Remembrance of all Troubles and Divisions past; we have declared, and do declare, all Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, and Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Statutes made and given against those of the said pretended Reformed Religion, as well dead as alive, since the Death of our said most honoured Lord and Father, King Henry, on account of the said Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happened since, together with the Execution of the said Judgments and Orders, from this Moment void, revok'd, and annull'd, and therefore order the same to be erased and taken out of the Registers of our Courts, both Sovereign and Inferior, as also all Marks, Tracts, and Monuments of the said Executions, defamatory Books, and Acts against their Persons, Memories, and Posterities; and order the whole to be raz'd out. And the Places that have been demolish'd and raz'd on that account, restor'd to the Owners thereof, to be used and dispos'd of according to their Pleasure.

XXXIII. And as for the Procedures made, Judgments and Decrees given, against those of the said Religion, upon no other accounts than the said Religion and Troubles; together with Proscriptions, and Feodal Seizures accruing during the present, last and precedent Troubles, beginning

ginning the Year 1567, they shall be void, as never having been made, given, nor happen'd; neither shall the Parties derive any Advantages by them, but shall be put again into the same Condition, in which they were before the same.

Charle^s
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.



XXXIV. We also ordain, that those of the said Religion shall keep to the Political Laws of our Kingdom, in observing Festivals, neither shall they labour, or sell in open Shops on the said Days; nor yet open their Shambles to sell Meat on such Days in which the use of Meat is prohibited by the Roman Catholick Church.

XXXV. And to the end that Justice may be render'd and ministred to all our Subjects, without Partiality, Hatred or Favour, we have and do ordain, will, and it is our pleasure, that Suits and Differences moved, or to be commenced among Parties being of contrary Religion, as well in being Plaintiffs as Defendants in any civil or criminal Causes whatever; shall be heard in the first place before the Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other our ordinary Judges, according to our Ordinances: And where Appeals shall lie in any of our Courts of Parliament, in relation to that of Paris, which is compos'd of seven Chambers, the great Chamber, La Tournelle, and five Chambers of the Inquests, it shall be lawful for those of the pretended Reformed Religion, if they please, in the Causes they shall have depending in each of the said Chambers, to demand that four, either Presidents, or Counsellors, may abstain from the Judgment of their Processes, who without alledging any Cause, shall be bound in this Case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Presidents and Counsellors cannot be excepted against without just Cause. And besides that all Refusals of Rights shall be allow'd them against all others,

Charles IX. Prefidents and Counsellors, according to the Ordinances or Statutes.

1570.
Pope Pius V.



XXXVI. As for the Suits they shall have depending in the Parliament of Thoulouse, if the Parties cannot agree about another Parliament they shall be returned before the Master of the Request of our *Hôtel*, in their Court in the Palace at Paris; who shall judge their Suits impartially and sovereignly, without Appeal, as if they had been judg'd in our said Parliament.

XXXVII. And as to what relates to those of Rouën, Dijon, Provence, Bretagne and Grenoble, they shall be allowed to challenge six Prefidents or Counsellors to abstain from the Judgment of their Suits, that is three out of each Chamber; and in that of Bourdeaux, four out of every Chamber.

XXXVIII. The Catholicks shall also be allow'd to challenge, if they think fit, all such Members of the said Courts, as have been discharg'd of their Offices upon the account of Religion by the said Parliaments, to abstain from the Judgment of their Suits, also peremptorily; and they shall be oblig'd to abstain from the same. They shall also be allowed all usual Recusations against all other Prefidents and Counsellors, according as they are of right allow'd by the Statutes.

XXXIX. And whereas several Persons have receiv'd, and suffer such Injuries and Damages in their Estates and Persons; that it will be difficult for them to lose the Remembrance thereof, so soon as it should be requisite for the Execution of our Intention, being desirous to avoid all Inconveniences that might arise from People's being disturbed in their Houses, until all Grudges and Animosities are allay'd, we have given in keeping to those of the said Religion, the Cities of Rochelle

chelle, Montauban, Coignac, and La Charité, in which all such as shall be unwilling to repair so soon to their own Houses, shall be free to retire and to inhabit. And for the surety of the same, our said Brother and Cousin, the Princes of Navarr and Condé, together with twenty Gentlemen of the said Religion, who shall be by us nominated, shall swear and promise one and for the whole, for themselves, and for those of their said Religion, to preserve the said Cities for us; and at the end of two Years, to deliver them again into the hands of such a one as we shall think fit to depute, in the same condition they now are in, without innovating or altering any thing in the same, and that without any delay or difficulty upon any Account or Occasion whatever: At the expiration of which Term, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be continued there, as while they held them. It being nevertheless our Will and Pleasure, that in the same, all Ecclesiasticks shall freely re-enter and perform Divine Service in all Liberty, and enjoy their Estates, as well as all the Catholick Inhabitants of the said Cities; which said Ecclesiasticks and other Inhabitants shall be taken into the Protection and Safeguard of our said Brother and Cousin, and other Lords, to the end that they may not be hindered from performing the said Divine Service. molested nor disturb'd in their Persons, or in the Enjoyment of their Estates, but on the contrary, restored and reintegrated into the full Possession of the same. Willing moreover, that in the said four Cities our Judges shall be re-establish'd and the exercise of Justice restor'd as used to be before the Troubles.

XL. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that immediately after the Publication of this Edict made in the two Camps, Arms shall strait be laid down every where; the which shall only remain in our

Charles
IX.1570.
Pope Pius
V.

hands, and those of our most dear and most beloved Brother the Duke of Anjou.

XL I. A free Commerce and Passage shall be re-establish'd through all Cities, Towns, Villages, Bridges, and Passages of our said Kingdom, in the same Condition as they were before the present and last Troubles.

XL II. And in order to avoid the Violences and Transgressions that might be committed, those who shall be by us appointed for the Execution of the present Edict, in the Absence of one another, shall make the chief Inhabitants of the said Cities of both Religions whom they shall chuse, swear to keep and observe our said Edict; shall make them guard each other, charging them respectively and by publick Act, to answer for the Transgressions that shall be made to the said Edict in the said City, by the Inhabitants thereof respectively, or else to secure and deliver up the said Transgressors into the Hands of Justice.

XL III. And to the end that our Justices and Officers, as well as all other our Subjects, may be clearly, and with all certainty inform'd of our Will and Intention, and to remove all Doubts, and Ambiguities and Cavillings that might be made in relation to the precedent Edicts, we have declared, and do declare, all other Edicts, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Restrictions, and Interpretations, Decrees and Registers, as well secret, as all other Deliberations heretofore made in our Courts of Parliament, and others that might hereafter be made to the prejudice of our said present Edict, concerning the Case of Religion, and the Troubles occasion'd in this our Kingdom, to be void and of no effect. To all which, and the Derogatories therein contained, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this very time, as for them,

do cancel, revoke and annul them; declaring expressly, that it is our Pleasure, that this our said Edict should be sure, firm, and inviolable, kept and observed by our said Justices, Officers, and Subjects, without respecting or having the least regard to whatever might be contrary and derogating to this.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.



XLIV. And for the greater Assurance of the Maintenance and Observation we desire of this, it is our Will, Command, and Pleasure, that all Governors of our Provinces, our Lieutenant Generals, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately upon receipt of this our said Edict, shall swear the same to keep and observe, cause to be kept, observ'd, and maintain'd, every one in their Precinct, as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, and other Officers, Annual or Temporal, as well the present, after the Reception of the said Edict, as their Successors, in taking the Oath they are used to take when they are admitted into the said Places and Offices; of which Oaths, publick Acts shall be expedited to all such as shall require it.

We also require our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Persons holding our Court of Parliament, immediately upon receipt of this present Edict, to cease all their Proceedings, and on pain of Nullity of the Acts they should pass otherwise, to take the like Oath, and to cause our said Edict to be Publish'd and Registred in our said Courts, according to the Form, and Tenor thereof, purely and plainly, without any Modifications, Restrictions, Declaration, or secret Register, and without expecting any Mandamus, or Order from us, and our Attorneys General to require and pursue the immediate Publication thereof, without any delay; the which we will have perform'd in the two Camps and Armies, within six Days after the

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

Publication made in our Parliament of Paris, in order to send back the Strangers forthwith. Injoining likewise our Lieutenants General and Governors, speedily to publish, and to cause this our Edict to be published by the Bailiffs, Seneschals, Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of their said Government, where-ever it will be necessary: As also the same to keep, observe and maintain, every one in his Precinct, in order to put a speedy Stop to all Acts of Hostility, and to all Impositions made, or to be made upon the Account of the said Troubles after the Publication of our present Edict; which from the Moment of the said Publication we declare liable to Punishment and Reparation, viz. against such as shall use Arms, Force and Violence, in the Transgression and Infraction of this our present Edict, hindering the Effect, Execution, or the Joyment thereof, with Death without hope of Pardon or Remission. And as for the other Infractions that shall not be made by way of Arms, Force, or Violence, they shall be punished by other Corporal Inflictions, as Banishments, Amende Honourable, or Pecuniary Punishments, according to the Nature and Exigency of the Offences, at the will and pleasure of the Judges to whom we have assigned the Cognizance thereof; engaging their Honours and Consciences to proceed therein, with all the Justice and Equity the Cause shall require, without respect or exceptions of Persons or Religion.

Therefore we command the said Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provofts, and other our Justices, and Officers, whom it may concern, or their Lieutenant, this our present Edict to cause to be read, published and registered in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the

the same to maintain, keep, and observe in all points, and all whom it may concern, the same fully and peaceably to use and enjoy, ceasing and causing all Troubles and Hindrances there- to contrary to cease. For such is our Pleasure. In Witness whereof we have signed these Presents with our own hand; and to the same, to the end that it may be firm and lasting for ever, we have caused our Seal to be affixed.

Charles IX.
1570.
Pope Pius V.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, in the Month of August the eighth Day, in the Year of our Lord 1570. and of our Reign the Tenth. Signed

CHARLES.

And beneath by the King being in his Council.

Signed,

DE NEUFVILLE.

And on the side *Visa*, and sealed with the great Seal with green Wax, upon Knots of red and green Silk.

Read, published and registered at the request and desire of the King's Attorney-General at Paris in Parliament, on the eleventh Day of August 1570.

DU TILLET.

What is more observable upon this Edict, is, CXII.
1. that the Places wherein the Reformed could meet together for Divine Worship were specified. But, 2. what was the more considerable amongst all the Articles granted, is the four Places of Security, which were to be delivered unto the Princes of Navarr and Condé, and which they were allowed to keep for two Years together, these four Places were of very great advantage to the Reformed by their situation; LA ROCHELLE was a safe Haven for receiving the Succours from England, in case of Need; LA CHARITE' opened a free Passage upon the

Charles IX. 1570. Pope Pius V.

Loire, whereby the Reformed of the Provinces beyond that River might have a free communication with those inhabiting on the other side; MONTAUBAN is upon the Frontiers of *Languedoc*, and *Quercy*; and COGNAC is in *Angoumois*, a Province wherein the Reformed were much superior to the Catholics at that time.

3. Another great advantage the Reformed reaped outwardly by that Edict, was the liberty of challenging a certain number of Judges in all the Courts of the Kingdom, either superior or inferior; nay, they might challenge the whole Parliament of *Toulouse*, if they had a mind; and if the Parties could not agree upon another Parliament, they might appeal to the King's Privy Council, and the Masters of the Requests, there the matter was to be finally decided.

In a word, nothing was wanting in that Edict for the full satisfaction of the Reformed, but sincerity and honesty in their Enemies side, for performing faithfully whatever was promised unto them. And whereas the Princes and the Admiral were not able to dive into the most secret recesses of CATHARINE'S Heart, they received these Articles of Peace with so much the more Joy, that they saw themselves out of condition of continuing War: for the Germans had lately mutinied, and the Count Volrad of Mansfeld had threatned the Admiral to retire into their own Country, if they were not paid off their Arrears by a certain time. Their French Troops were exhausted, and for want of Subsistence could not be kept under any restraint; no military Discipline could be observed in the Army, whereby the great Admiral was grieved to his heart, because of the plunders and depredations committed by the Troops, without being able to remedy these disorders; and said more than once unto his most intimate,

intimate, *that, rather than to take up again Arms for a Civil War, he would suffer himself to be deprived of all his Estate, Titles and Dignities, and to be dragged along the Streets, and die in the most ignominious manner.* And indeed he was so constant in that Opinion, that he could never be deterred from it hence-forward.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

Besides the utmost Misery whereto the Kingdom was reduced, the Queen had another Reason which moved her to conclude a Peace with the Princes and the Admiral, and that is what I have insinuated already, that being not able to compass her ends by open force, she was resolved to do it by treachery. But I believe Thuanus to be in the right, when he says, that the King was not as yet complice with her in that most detestable Plot, but only the Cardinal of Lorrain, BRACUE, unto whom Morvilliers had wilfully resigned the Seals of late, and the three Brethren Albert, Peter, and Charles de Gondy, to whom afterwards some others were adjoined (*b*).

However the Court of Spain was much displeas'd at this Treaty, guessing not the true intentions of the Queen, and she being unwilling to explain herself, lest she should miscarry, her Secret being discovered; all the intreaties, large promises, and other endeavours of the Spanish Minister were needless, the King and the Queen, tho' by very different Motives, could not be diverted from their Resolution, Peace was solemnly proclaimed, with all the usual Formalities at *La Rochelle*, where the Queen of Navarr was, at *Paris*, and elsewhere; and the Edict was read and registered in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom.

Then the Princes with the Admiral, the Count Lewis of Nassau, Telligny, Beauvais la Nocle, CXII.
went *The Princes &c. go to Rochelle.*

(*b*) Thuan. lib. 47. p. 660.

Charles
IX.
1570.
Pope Pius
V.

went so far as *Langres*, where having took their leave of the Count Volrad of Mansfeld, and dismissed the Germans, whom they loaded with fair Promises more than with Money, the Mar-ques of Renel led them to the Frontiers, and the Princes, &c. proceeded to *Rochelle*, where they arrived about the beginning of October.

CXIII.
*Some Mar-
riages at
Court.*

While the Treaty of Peace had been on foot, some hints had been given of a Match between the Princess Margaret, the King's Sister, and the Prince of Navarr, as a proper means for restoring, settling, and confirming a mutual Love amongst all the Subjects, or rather for the better concealing the most abominable Plot against the Reformed. However, the King taking notice of the too privy conversation of the Princess his Sister with the Duke of Guise, who carried his Ambition so far as to pretend to marry her, and was already sure of her consent, whereof he had even received the earnest; the King, I say, was so much provoked at it, and fell into such a passion, that he commanded Henry of Angouleme his Bastard Brother, and Great Prior of France, to pick a quarrel with the Duke of Guise at a hunting Match, and to kill him one way or another, threatning him with terrible Curses and Oaths, that if he missed him, he would not miss him. But the Great Prior, tho' very willing, had not Courage enough for executing his Commission; and the Duke of Guise understanding what the King hatched against him, avoided for a time to be present at any hunting Match, and then, by his Mother's advice, he married Catharine of *Cleves*, Widow of the late Prince of Porcian. That Lord was dead about six Years before with a Surfeit, having eat three dishes of green Almonds at his supper; and tho' he had earnestly intreated his Consort not to mar-

ry with the Duke of Guise, nevertheless, his Charms were so powerful, that she forgot her late Husband's intreaties and her own promises. Few Months before Lewis of Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, Prince of the Blood, had married Catharine, Sister to the Duke of Guise, whereby the Cardinal of Lorraine intended to win that Prince into his Party.

Charles IX.
1570.
Pope Pius. V.

But the greatest Match was that of the King with Elizabeth, Daughter of Maximilian II. Emperor of Germany; the Treaty of that Marriage had been on foot for nine Years together; Philip II. had opposed it with all his might, but at last it had been agreed upon, and on the 24th of November the King sent the Dukes of Anjou and of Alençon, his Brethren, attended with a great number of Princes and of the first Nobility, with about 300 Horse, to meet that Princess at *Sedan*, where she was received by the Duke of Bouillon, with all the Honours due to her Rank; from thence she proceeded to *Mezieres*, where the King was come to meet her, with the Queen his Mother, the Dutchess of Lorraine, his Aunt, and the Princess Margaret, his Sister; she was delivered into the King's hands by the Archbishop, Elector of *Treves*. On the 26th of the same Month the Ceremony of the Marriage was performed by the Cardinal of Bourbon, in presence of the Princes, the Officers of the Crown, and almost all the great Lords of the Kingdom, there was above seventy Princesses and Ladies of the first Quality, all richly dressed; the Feasts and every thing else answered perfectly well to the Genius of the Queen-Mother, who had ordered them. The King was then 20 Years and 5 Months old, and the Princess but 16.

The King's Marriage.

From *Mezieres* the King came to *Villiers Cotte de Rets*, where on the 23d of December, he gave Audience

Charles IX. 1570. Pope Pius V.

Audience to the Embassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany, that were sent to congratulate him on account of his Marriage, and to exhort him to a thorough performance of the Articles of his last Edict, of *St. Germain*. They were very graciously received, entertained, and answered, and then dismissed, loaded with very rich Gifts (*i*).

CXIV. *Complaints of the Catholics and the Reformed about the Edict.* While the Court was at that Place, complaints were brought to the King from the Catholics and the Reformed, about the infractions of the Edict. In order to redress the Grievances, the Marshal of Cossé and De la Proutiere, Master of the Requests, were sent to *Rochelle*, to agree with the Deputies of the Reformed about the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict.

1571. Being arrived into that City, the affair of the Marriage of the Prince of Navarr with the Princess Margaret, was again proposed by them, and in order to insnare the Admiral, present at their Conferences, whom they knew to be much averse from the Civil Wars, and much inclined to a War against *Spain*; they talk'd of assisting the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low Countries*. After several Debates about the controverted Points of the Edict, the Marshal of Cossé told the Deputies, that he would make his Report to the King. Then the said Deputies made many Complaints against the Power which their Enemies enjoyed at Court, tho' it was certain that they were the only Disturbers of the publick Peace; they rehearsed whatever had been done since the Peace of *Orleans*, their manifold Plots and Attempts against the Reformed and their Chief; they complained that even now, many Restrictions and false Constructions were put to the Edict lately granted, quite contrary to the obvious meaning of

(i) Thuau. *ibid.*

of the Words; that the Count of Villars, one of their bitterest Enemies had been named by the King, Lieutenant of the Prince of Navarr, in the Government of Guienn, and was coming into that Province with a Body of Troops. That the Prince of Condé was refused the Restitution of the Castle of St. Valery, given to his Father by the Widow of the Marshal of St. Andrew; that the Bastard Son of Sanfac was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Cominges*, to the prejudice of Charles, Natural Son of the late King of Navarr, who had been invested with it; that Morvilliers, Lord Keeper of the Seals, had refused to read, publish and seal the Secret Articles of the Edict, tho' they made a Part thereof; that Châncèllor de L' Hospital, the worthiest Man of his Age, had been deprived of his Office, out of hatred for the Reformed Religion, because his Enemies charged him with countenancing it in secret; that in all the Provinces they were plotting against the Queen of Navarr, the Prince her Son, and all the Reformed in general, and were sending Emissaries to *Spain* and *Portugal*, for raising Troops and Money; that Blaise of Montluc enraged by the Wound he received of late at the Siege of *Rabasteins*, was not satisfied with the Slaughter he caused then to be made of so many innocent Persons, but continued now, and publickly to vent out his rage against the Reformed in his Province. They inferred from the Premises, that it was not to be wondered at, if they were afraid, lest by the impulsion, or violence of the same Persons that bore the sway at Court, and every where in the Kingdom, the publick Peace should be again disturbed, even against the King's Will.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

To these the Marshal of Cossé answered, that a part of these Grievances were already past and ought

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

ought to have been forgotten, since by the last Edict it was enacted, that they should be buried in a perpetual oblivion, and the other part were of such a nature, that they could not be renewed without renewing the former Causes of Jealousies, therefore they ought to be quite forgotten and forgiven, by all those who desired sincerely to see a solid and lasting Peace settled in the Kingdom, lest they should afford to the timorous, or to the turbulent, a pretence for raising new Commotions; that the King had always earnestly desired Peace and Tranquillity, and that he would keep and maintain that he had made of late: But, adds he, since you have been free with me, give me leave to be the same with you, and to tell you, that you do afford the King a just Occasion of questioning your own sincerity and good will, for to what purpose do the Queen Navarr, the Princes of Navarr and Condé, and so many Noblemen make so long a stay at *Rochelle*, far from their home, exposed to many inconveniences? His Majesty wonders at it, and can but suspect that there is some Snake in the Grass; and what increases his Jealousy is, that he had been told, that they kept still their Troops on foot, that they raised new ones at a great charge, that their Ships committed every day new Acts of Hostility against the Spanish and Portuguese Ships upon the Coasts of *Guienne* and *Xaintonge*, whereof frequent Complaints were brought to his Majesty, &c.

To this it was replied, that their stay at *Rochelle* was occasioned only by the long delays of several Noblemen, whom they waited for, for advising about means to discharge the Debts contracted with their Auxiliaries of Germany; that as soon as Peace had been proclaimed, they had dismissed all the foreign Troops in their Service,
and

and if there remained some of the Natives in the Neighbourhood of *Rochelle*, it had been occasioned by the coming of the Count of Villars, whom they suspected, as abovesaid, and because the neighbouring Garrisons had been doubled by the King's Orders. That was the Substance of their Conferences.

Charles IX.
1571.
Pope Pius V.



The Marshal set out for Paris, where Telligny, Briquemaut and Cavagnes had been deputed by the Princes to solicit the execution of the Edict. That Winter was very severe in France, the *Seine*, *Loire*, and even the *Rhône*, were quite frozen, insomuch that Carts loaded went a-crofs upon the Ice, and in *Provence* and *Languedoc* the Fruit-Trees were destroyed by the Froit. (j)

Though the Reformed trusting to the King's Promises, were every where very submissive and obedient to the Magistrates Orders, endeavouring as much as they could to entertain Peace and Concord; it was not the same with the Catholicks, they insulted them in many Places, and threatened them with utter Ruin. Those who were less turbulent, told them, that they should enjoy the Benefit of Peace for two Years only, at which time they were obliged to restore to the King the Cities of Security, wherewith they had been invested. But the Seditious, far from waiting for these two Years, endeavoured to disturb the publick Peace, a few Months after the Publication of the Edict.

CXV.
Massacres of the Reformed at Orange, Rouen.

At *Orange*, at the beginning of February, the Catholicks headed by MIGNONI and La BAUME, having plotted against the Reformed, committed many Outrages upon them in the Night-time, breaking their Windows, beating and wounding those they could meet; the Magistrates being

not

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

not able to repress these Violences, and the Reformed being not provoked by them as they expected they would have been, the Seditious forced into their Houses, and fell upon the Dwellers therein, without sparing either Sex or Age; they threw the wounded out of the Windows, who falling upon the Pavement shattered their Limbs, and died with the most exquisite Pains; some they choaked with Smoak at their own Chimneys, and lest any thing should be wanting to their Cruelty, they gave the Corps to be devoured by Dogs. Those who could escape, were murdered upon the Bridges, or in the Ports of the *Venaisfine County*; some who had fled to *Montelimar*, were expelled out of the Town. That Fury lasted for three days, and would have lasted longer, had it not been for Montmejan, whom Damville had left Governor of the Citadel, who received in it those who could flee thither, and who with the Garrison repressed the fury of the Seditious. Count Ludovic of Naffau who was at *Rochelle*, understanding what had been done, wrote to the King in his Brother's Name, and required, that according to the Edict, the Prince of Orange should be allowed to name a Governor of his own, whereby the Inhabitants should be kept in the bounds of their Duty: That Request being granted, Berchon was sent by the Prince, who having strengthened the Citadel with a good Garrison, he invited the Seditious, who had exiled themselves to come back, and few Months after a diligent, but very secret Search, having been made of the most Guilty, he caused them to be arrested, and with the King's Consent, they were tried by Judges sent from *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, some of them were executed, some other condemned to Penalties, and the Absentees proscribed (1). A

(1) Thuan. Ibid. Dinoth. lib. 5.

At *Rouën* on the 4th of March the Catholics fell upon the Reformed, as they came out from Church; they wounded many of them, and killed above 40. The King's Officers, understanding what they were about, came with some of the Citizens in Arms to the Gate, where that Massacre was perpetrated, and took some of the Seditious, which they brought to the Prisons; but they were rescued by their Accomplices, who without any regard for the Magistrates, broke open the Prisons-Gates. The Magistrates were so much frightened at this Licentiousness of the Mob, that they abstained for some days from the Duties of their Charge, and kept to their own Houses. Those of *Dieppe* willing to follow the example, fell upon the Reformed, but they were repressed by the Governor. The King having had notice of this, was extremely provoked at it, either because he took it as an Injury done to his Authority, or because he thought, that such things might occasion some delays in the execution of his secret Designs: However, he sent the Marshal Duke of Montmorency to *Rouën* with some Troops, and some Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris, conspicuous for their Probity, who having tried some of the Seditious that could be apprehended, condemned a few of them to death, others to Banishment and large Fines; they pronounced Sentence of Death against three hundred that could not be taken, and their Goods and Estates were forfeited (*m*).

Now the King being, as it were, free from the former Disturbances and Cares, after the Ceremonies and Feasts of his Marriage were over, willing to procure his Consort some new Diversions, had ordered great Preparations to be

Charles IX.
1571.
Pope Pius V.



CXVI.

*The King's
Publick
Entry into
Paris.*

VOL. III.

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made

(*m*) Eid. Ibid. D'Aubigné liv. ch.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

made towards his publick and joyful Entry into his Capital; and every thing being ready for that purpose, he came to the Gates of *St. Denis* on the 6th of March, where he received the Compliments of all the Corporations of the City, and of all the Courts of Justice, superiour and inferiour. Then proceeding, he entered into the City with all the Pomp and Magnificence possible, and went to *Our Lady's Church*, where the *Te Deum* having been sung, he came to the Louvre. Six days after he went to the Parliament, where in a set Speech he extolled the great advantages he and the Kingdom had reaped, and would still reap from the good Management and prudent Counsels of the Queen his Mother; then he bewailed the sad Condition of the Kingdom, proceeding from the Male-administration of Justice, and upbraided several Senators with Vices, that rendered them unworthy of their Office; he exhorted them all in the most pressing manner, to a thorough and sincere reform and amendment of Life, and to an impartial Administration of Justice. He was answered by the first President, Christopher Thuanus.

The Queen's Coronation. On the 25th or 26th of the same Month, Queen Elizabeth was crowned at *St. Denis* with the usual Ceremonies, and four days after she made her publick and joyful Entry into Paris, with a Magnificence so much the greater, as more Ornaments and Formalities are generally used in the Pomps of Princesses than in those of Princes. When that Ceremony was over, the Court removed from one Royal House to another, where we shall leave them for a while.

CXVII. On the 2d day of April, began the Sessions of the Seventh National Synod at *Rockel*, present the Queen of Navarr, the Princes of Navarr and Condé, the Admiral, and the Count Lewis

*The 7th
National
Synod.*

Lewis of Nassau, and several other Lords and Gentlemen, besides the Ministers, Elders, and other Deputies to the Synod: Theodorus de Beze was elected Moderator (*). Several Observations were made upon the Confession of Faith, notice was taken of DAVID, GENTIL, BLANDRATA, SOCINUS, and other Hereticks of *Poland* and *Transylvania*, and their Tenets condemned and detested; those of COZAIN were likewise condemned, and the Bishops of *England* desired to suppress the Books of the said Hereticks, which began to be in vogue in this Kingdom. When the Canons of the Discipline were read, notice was taken of a Book published by a Physician of Bourdeaux, wherein he asserted the Supremacy of the Magistrates, as Head of the Church, rejected the Church-Discipline, and confounded it with the Civil Government of the Magistrate; the Synod condemned the Book, and desired Beza to answer it.

Charles IX.
1571.
Pope Pius V.

A Form of Ordination of Ministers was drawn, which is as follows, „ The Minister who pre-
„ senteth to the People the Person to be ordain-
„ ed, shall briefly treat of the Institution and
„ Excellency of the Ministry, quoting for that
„ purpose, these or the like Texts of Holy
„ Scripture, viz. *Eph. iv. 11. Luke x. 16. John*
„ *xx. 22. 2 Cor. v. 19, 20. 1 Cor. iv. 1. Ex-*
„ horting every one to take special heed, that
„ both Minister and People discharge their re-
„ spective Duties. The Minister shall acquit
„ himself with the greatest care and diligence

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possible

(*) I do not know where Thuanus has found that Beza, tho' Moderator Elect, and notwithstanding the Letters of the Queen of Navarr to the Magistrates of Geneva upon that Subject, could not be present in the Synod, and that de Chandieu was elected in his place; since according to Quick and Aymon, he proposed several things, made several Reports, and signed the Acts as Moderator.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

„ possible of all the Duties of his Charge, be-
 „ cause of its Excellency ; and the People shall
 „ with all Reverence receive the Message of
 „ God brought unto them by this his Em-
 „ bassador. THEN shall be read 1 *Tim.* iii.
 „ and *Titus* i. where the Apostle treats of the
 „ Character and Qualifications of a true Mini-
 „ ster. And to the end, that the Elect Person
 „ might be enabled by Divine Grace, faithful-
 „ ly and conscientiously to perform the Duties
 „ of this holy and honourable Office, a fervent
 „ Prayer, suitable to the Occasion, shall be put
 „ up to God for him, at the end of which,
 „ the Minister shall lay his hands on the head
 „ of the Elect Person, beseeching God, that as
 „ he is consecrated unto his Service, so he might
 „ be replenished with the Graces of his Holy
 „ Spirit, and that he would be pleased to bless
 „ his Ministry, and pious Labours, unto the
 „ Glory of his Holy Name, the Edification of
 „ the Church, and the Salvation of this elected
 „ Minister.” It is to be observed, that the form
 of Prayer at the Ordination, was first settled
 at the Synod of *St. Maixant*, in the Year
 1609, so that for 50 Years together there was
 no stated Form, to which the Minister ordain-
 ing was tied up unvariably. It is further to be
 observed, that the above Form of Ordination
 had place only when the Minister so ordained,
 was inducted into some Church to deserve it ;
 and that very seldom, and upon very weighty
 Considerations, no body was admitted into the ho-
 ly Ministry, without being presented to some
 Church or other.

It was agreed in that Synod, that, without
 any Additions, there should be three Copies fairly
 written in Vellum of the Confession of Faith,
 whereof one should be kept at *Rochelle*, ano-
 ther

ther at Bearn, and the third at Geneva; and that all three should be subscribed by the Queen of Navarr, the Princes, the Admiral, and other Lords there present, besides the Ministers, Elders, and other Deputies of the Churches to that Synod.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

Several other alterations and additions were made to the Articles of Church-Discipline; especially in the Articles of Marriage, some Modifications and Corrections were made to the Articles of the precedent Synod, but not so far as they ought to have done. They gave likewise some Advices unto the Queen of Navarr about the Officers of her Household, and desired her not to sell the Offices of Judicature, nor to bestow them but upon Persons, whose Character and good Qualifications, she was perfectly well acquainted with. They made several other good Regulations, and ended their Sessions on the 11th of April. Thuanus observes, that this Synod was convened by the King's Authority, and his special Warrant; however with this Proviso, that they should admit into it, whoever his Majesty should depute in his Name (*m*). But I don't find that Deputy's Name in the Acts of that Synod, nor any mention made of him; it may be that the King satisfied with the submission of the Churches to his Will, went no further, and did not think proper to send any Deputy to that Synod.

It is further to be observed, that a few days before the Meeting of the Synod, the Queen of Navarr, the Princes, the Admiral, and other Lords and Gentlemen of that Party, had been consulting together about the means of discharging their Debts contracted with their Auxiliaries of Germany. Some voted for petitioning the King to discharge them of that burden, seeing that these Debts had been contracted for re-

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(*m*) Thuan. lib. 50. p. 757.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius.
V.

storing Peace and Tranquillity in the Kingdom. But others thought that it would be unjust to require such thing from the King, seeing that, though not obliged to it, he had already given of his own accord, some Months Pay to their Registers, for engaging them to quit the Kingdom; therefore it was thought more proper to raise that Sum upon all the Churches in the Kingdom, and for that end, to assess each of them, according to their power and faculties, which assessment was regulated and agreed upon in the Synod; and whereas they had no sufficient Authority for constraining them to pay, the King granted unto them a Warrant of Distress against that, or those, that should refuse to pay its, or their Quota (n).

CXVIII. *Great Tumults at Paris.* While the Court was absent, a great Tumult happened at Paris, the Occasion whereof was as follows:

About three Years before Philip Gastines, a rich Merchant of Paris, and a very honest Man, having been charged with having lent his House for nightly Meetings, (notwithstanding the King's Edicts, whereby all Meetings in the day or night for any Religious Performance were forbidden) and that the Lord's Supper had been celebrated in it; for that Cause, the Civil War being kindled, he had been condemned to death with his Brother Richard: Nicholas Croquet, a rich Merchant, his Brother-in-Law, was likewise condemned to death, for having been present at these Assemblies; all their Goods were forfeited. Now, as Gastines, that venerable old Man, who, (*his Religion set aside*) was so much beloved by all his Neighbours, nay, by all the City, of which he had so well deserved by his Services; as, I say, he was carried to the place of Execution

(v) *Idem. ibid D'Auligné Tom 2 liv. 1. ch. 1. p. 52*

Execution, this sight moved the pity of many, and all honest people were full of indignation against the Factious, because by their sollicitation to the Judges, and by their suborning the Rabble, who followed with terrible threats and curses, the Presidents and Counsellors as they came out of the Parliament, they had prevailed so far upon them, that a fault that was heretofore punished with a Fine or with Banishment, was made a capital Crime in Gastines, a Man in all other respects conspicuous for his great probity and integrity, And for the greater Severity, his House in the Suburb of *St. Denis*, was condemned to be pulled down, the Ground to be levelled, the Court-yard to be made a publick Place, wherein a Pillar should be erected, with a Copper-plate affixed upon it, and his Sentence engraved thereon.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

Now, whereas by the last Edict, it had been enacted, that whatever Sentences, Decrees, Judgments had been given against the Reformed on account of their Religion during the Civil Wars should be reversed, and that the condemned, or their Heirs, should be restored to their Estates, Goods, Honours, and good Fame, and that all Monuments or Instruments tending to their dishonour should be abolished and rescinded; the Deputies of the Reformed required, that the Judgment against Gastines and Croquet should be reversed, and that the Monument erected in his Court-yard, commonly called Gastines's Cross, should be pulled down. That petition seemed very just and reasonable unto the King; but those who countenanced the seditious Faction, said, that it was to be feared lest, if such a thing sacred and religious was taken away for gratifying the Reformed, the Mob would look upon it as an injury and prejudice done to the Catholick Religion. Therefore a middle-way was agreed upon,

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

on, whereby the Reformed were satisfied without giving offence, as it seemed, to the Catholics; and that was, that the Monument should be removed from that place into St. Innocent's Church-yard, that the Copper-plate should be taken away, and another put in its stead, with an Inscription to the praise of the Cross; all this was to be done in the Night-time, for avoiding Tumults; and Marcel, Provoft of the Merchants, was charged to execute that resolution. But it could not be kept so secret, that the Mob having some hint of it gathered together in arms to oppose the execution, and running early in the Morning along the Streets, they forced, entered and plundered several Houses of the Reformed. But the Duke of Montmorency, Governour of Paris, having notice of this, came with a great force to the assistance of the Provoft, killed all he met in his way, dispersed the rest, caused one of them to be hang'd upon the spot at the Windows of the next House, and so the Provoft went upon the execution of his Commission. This is the Account given by Thuanus. D'Aubigné agrees with him as to the most material Circumstances, he differs only as to Richard, whom he says, was a Son to Philip Gastines, whereas Thuanus says, that he was his Brother. D'Aubigné adds, that he was a very learned Youth, &c. See D'Aubigné Tom. 2. livre 1. ch. 1.

On the 12th of May the King issued out a Proclamation, forbidding under pain of Death and forfeiture of Goods, to carry any sort of Musket, Guns, or Pistols in the Streets.

CXIX. Mean while Telligny, Briquemaut and Cavagnes were come back from Court to Rochelle, with the King's Commission to certify the Queen of Navarr, the Princes, and the Admiral, of
his

The Deputies of the Princes return to Rochelle.

his tender affection towards them, and of his earnest desire of maintaining to all its intents and purposes the last Edict of Peace; that he had a good mind to carry the War into the Low Countries, and that the Peace might be more solidly established, he intended to marry his own Sister to the Prince of *Navarr.*

Charles IX.
1571.
Pope Pius V.

Armand Gontault de Biron arrived soon after these Deputies, in order to treat of the said Marriage in the King's Name, with the Queen of Navarr, and engaging the Princes upon that account to come to Court. Biron having discharged his Commission, represented to the Queen, as if it were of his own accord, how advantageous such an Alliance would be for her House and the whole Reformed Party; that if such an opportunity was neglected, it was to be feared lest the King should resent it very ill; that the Guises, who were ready to retire from Court, would be more potent in it than ever; that the King, in order to remove the difficulties proceeding from the Consanguinity and the difference of Religion, had already treated with the Nuncio SALVIATI, and though till now the Pope had refused his Consent, nevertheless he was in hopes, that all the other Articles being agreed upon, he would be able to bring his Holiness to a Compliance. So that they ought to come to Court, without any further delay, lest they should increase the King's Jealousies by their refusal.

Biron comes to Rochelle to treat of an Alliance.

To this the Queen replied, that that affair was of such importance that it required some time for considering of it; for though she was very sensible of the great honour and advantage redounding to her and her own House by such an Alliance, nevertheless she questioned whether the very difficulties mentioned above, the consanguinity

Answer of the Queen of Navarr.

Charles IX. 1571. Pope Pius V.

anguinity and the difference of Religion, were not such, that she could not with a safe Conscience desire to see that Alliance accomplished; therefore, if her Divines thought that she could do it, she would very chearfully concur to whatever might tend to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of the Kingdom, neither would she refuse any condition whereby she might show her intire submission and obedience to their Majesties will and command, which might serve to settle a lasting Tranquillity and Peace in the Kingdom, for which she was ready to shed the last drop of her Blood (o).

CXX. Several Occurrences to the latter end of this Year.

The Prince of Navarr, with his Cousin of Condé, attended by many of the Nobility, was gone at that time into Bearn; from whence being come back, the Prince of Condé was betrothed with Mary of Cleves, Marchioness of L'Isle, Sister-in-Law to the Dukes of Nevers and Guise; she had been trained up at the Court of the Queen of Navarr, and in the Principles of the Reformed Religion, and the Marriage-Ceremony was celebrated some Months after.

Second Marriage of the Admiral.

The Admiral, having lost his Lady Charlotte de Laval four Years before, and thinking of marrying again, a Match was proposed to him with Lady Jaqueline d'Entremont, Relict of Claude de Bastarnay, Baron of *Anton*, killed at the Battle of *St. Denis*, Heiress of a noble and rich Family in *Savoy*, who professed in secret the Reformed Religion. This Proposition being come to the notice of Philibert Emanuel Duke of *Savoy*, he had published an Edict, forbidding under Penalty of forfeiting Estates and Goods to any of his Subjects, of what Quality soever, to marry any Foreigner without his Consent; and though the King had written several times to the said Duke in behalf of the said Lady d'Entremont, never-

theless

(o) Thuar. lib. 50. p. 759, 760.

theless he had been constantly refused. But the Lady who loved the Admiral for the sake of his great Name and of his Virtues (*for she did not know him personally*) set out *incognito* from *Savoy*, and arrived about this time at *Rockelle*, and was married with the Admiral.

Charles IX.
1570
Pope Pius. V.

The same day, *Telligny* was married with *Eloyse*, Daughter to the Admiral.

That of *Telligny*.

But amidst all these Rejoicings, came the bad News of the Death of Cardinal *Odet de Châtillon*, Brother to the Admiral. He was come over into *England* at the beginning of the last War, and had been very useful to the CAUSE, because of the great value *Queen Elizabeth* had for him, as much for his Virtue and rare Integrity, as for the Greatness of his House; after the last Edict of Peace, the Admiral, his Brother, had desired him to come back into *France*, and he was going to *Hampton-Court*, for to take his leave of the *Queen*, when he was suddenly taken with a fit of Sickness, whereof he died on the 14th of February in the 50th Year of his Age, and was buried at *Canterbury*; his Death was hastened or rather occasioned by Poison, which his *Valet de Chambre* gave unto him, as the Villain confessed, when taken and put to the torture at *Rockelle* some time after. He was much regretted by every one, especially by the Reformed. The greatness of his Soul, his probity, equity, and faithfulness, his sagacity in the management of Affairs, endeared his Memory to the then present Age, (*the Pope and his Slaves excepted*) and to Posterity. While he was at the Court of *England*, he treated with *Queen Elizabeth*, by the command of the King and the *Queen-Mother*, about her Majesty's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, but without any success; *Queen Elizabeth* refused not openly the

Death of Cardinal de Châtillon.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

Macth, but she was naturally averſe from marrying at all. And even it was confidently ſaid amongſt the Courtiers of France, that the King was not in earneſt, but that he intended only to deceive the Reformed by that ſham Propoſition of ſo ſtrict an Alliance with a Proteſtant Power, that he might alſo by that means have a pretence for breaking the Treaty of Marriage which was on foot between the Princeſs his Siſter and the Prince of Navarr.

*The Court
comes to
Blois.*

The King, at the latter end of the Summer went to *Blois*, there to receive the Queen and the Prince of Navarr, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, whom he had intreated, by frequent Meſſengers to come to Court. From thence he had taken a turn to *Bourgueil* in *Touraine*, where, becauſe of its delightful ſituation, the Queen had cauſed a Pleaſure-Houſe to be built, as ſhe did in ſeveral other places, at a very extravagant charge.

*Lignerolles
murdered.*

While the Court was there, the Viſcount of La Guierche aſſaulted Lignerolles, and killed him on the ſpot. We ſhall ſee when we ſhall make our Obſervations upon Bartholomew's-Day, by whoſe order, and upon what account, that Gentleman was murdered.

*The Count
of Naſſau
comes to
Court in-
cognito.*

Now, whereas mention had been frequently made of carrying on of the War into the *Low Countries*, which the Count of Naſſau iſiſted much upon by his Letters and Meſſengers to the King, and that an affair of that nature could not be well treated, but in ſome private Conference; the ſaid Count, feigning to go by Sea into the ſaid Countries, arrived *incognito* at Court, with La Noüe, Telligny and Hangéſt d'Argenlieu, and conferred often in ſecret for ſix days with the King, then at *Lumigny* in *Brie*, where he was gone upon a Hunting-match, concerning

concerning the Utility, Necessity, and Means of carrying on that War; whereat the King seemed to be well pleased, but he started purposely some Difficulties, whereupon, he said, he wanted much the Admiral's advice in order to clear them, and that he intended to give him the general Direction of that War.

Charles
XI.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

He persuaded so well the said Count, that being gone back to *Rochelle* in the same disguise as he came in, he prevailed at last, with the King's Deputies, upon the Admiral, who prepared himself to set out for Court.

The Marshal of Cossé had been lately sent to him with Letters from the King, and a special Licence signed with the King's own hand, for having, even at Court, fifty Noblemen of his own choosing for his Guard. To all this the Duke of Montmorency, his first Cousin and intimate Friend, joined his Letters to certify him of the King's singular affection towards him, and to intreat him to come to Court without any further delay.

Being not able to withstand any longer such strong Sollicitations, the Admiral set out for Court, where he was received by the King with the greatest marks of joy, honour, and love. As that venerable Man was falling down upon his Knees before the King, his Majesty would not suffer it, but taking him by the hand, he embraced him, calling him his Father, saying loudly, that never a more desirable day had shone than that, wherein he saw by his presence (*the Admiral's*) a final end put to the War, and a lasting Peace settled in the Kingdom. Whereto he subjoined with a smiling Face, NOW WE HOLD YOU, AND YOU ARE WITH US, IT SHALL BE NO LONGER IN YOUR POWER TO DEPART FROM US WHEN YOU WILL. He was received by the

The Admiral comes to Court.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

Queen-Mother, and what was more surprizing, by the Duke of Anjou, with the same serenity of Countenance, and familiarity of Speech. More sincerity appeared in the Duke of Alençon's behaviour towards him, though he shewed unto him no less civility and affability than the Queen Mother and his Brethren had done, for which that Prince began to be suspected by their Majesties, and his Brother of Anjou. The King added something more real than bare words, for he gave to the Admiral one hundred thousand Livres, for repairing the Losses he had sustained in the late Wars, and one Year's Income of all the Benefices his Brother Cardinal Odet had enjoyed, with part of those Benefices, and at the same time he gave strict order to redeem the rich Furniture and Plate of the said Cardinal, which had been plundered, wherever it could be found; then he restored him to his Place in the Council. At the Admiral's recommendation, his Majesty was likewise pleased to gratify Telligny for whom he had shewed a great regard, Cavagnes Counsellor of the Parliament of Thoulouse, and several other Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion; and that the Admiral might be insnared the better by all the outwards signs of a thorough and sincere reconciliation, the King proposed to renew the Alliance with the Queen of England, and with the Protestant Princes of Germany, as soon as the ways and means for waging War with Spain should have been regulated and settled.

*He goes to
Chatillon.*

Then the Admiral, having obtained leave of the King, went to visit his own Estate at Chatillon, from whence he was recalled soon after by the King, for clearing some new Difficulties that occurred in the intended War against Spain, and again he went to Chatillon; so ended the Month of September.

The

The Deputies of the Reformed Churches having had several Audiences of the King about the Articles ambiguous, or controverted of the late Edict; at last his Majesty caused their Petitions to be read unto him by Henry de Mesmes, Lord of Malassise, whereto he was pleased to give a very favourable answer on the _____ of October, and immediately Deputies were sent into the Provinces to cause the Edict to be executed according to these last Intrepretations.

Charles
IX.
1571.
Pope Pius
V.

All this while the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Aumale, the Duke of Guise, the Vice-Chancellor Birague, and Gondy Count of Retz, were consulting together about the means how to surprize the Admirál, and the other Reformed Lords; and it is said, that they held their Council in the same Room where the Duke of Guise was murdered by the King's order about 17 Years after; and it was observed likewise, that Henry III. was also murdered in the same Room at *St. Clou*, where the bloody Council of the Massacre was held a few Months after. However, they agreed at first upon this Scheme, *viz.* That amongst other shows which should be represented in the Nuptials, a wooden Tower should be built next to the *Louvre* in the Isle, which should be defended by the Duke of Anjou, and attacked in a sham warlike manner by the Prince of Navarr, the Admiral, and other Lords of the Reformed Religion, with Guns, which should be fired on both sides without Balls: It was agreed, that during the attack, some quarrel or other should be picked out, and that at a certain sign the Assailed should fire upon the Assailers, with Balls in their Muskets, that thereby the Plot would be covered with the specious pretence of that quarrel; and indeed the

1572.
CXXI.
Several Occurrences from the beginning of this Year to the Massacre.

Tower

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.

Tower was built in the Isle, but the most prudent suspected something in it, and that after mature Consideration, it was thought that the Reformed Party would not be easily persuaded to venture upon such dangerous play, their Jealousies being not quite worn out from their minds, that Fort or Tower was pulled down in the Night-time by the King's orders, before the suspicions raised from it should have made a deeper impresson in their minds, and the materials were carried elsewhere.

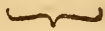
The Princess of Montpensier's escape.

About this time Charlotte of Bourbon, Daughter to the Duke of Montpensier, fled into Germany, and retired to the Court of Frederick Elector of Palatine. She had been brought up secretly in the Reformed Religion by her Mother, as said in our first Vol. Afterwards, her Family, though of the Royal Blood, being in very narrow Circumstances, she was sent to the Abbey of *Jouarre*, whereof she was afterwards appointed Abbess; and in her retreat, she preserved the same Opinions about Religion wherein she had been brought up, at the persuasion (it is said) of Joanna Chabot a near Relation to her, and Abbess of the *Paraclete*; who, though she professed openly the Reformed Religion, nevertheless she would never have forsaken her Convent had she not been forced to it, during the Civil Wars, but she never quitted the Habit of a Nun all his Life-time. The Court was extremely moved at this News, and by the King's Command, the first President de Thou went to *Jouarre*, for making more particular Informations. The Duke of Montpensier was then at *Aigue-perse* in *Auvergne*. The Elector wrote unto him, to excuse the flight of his Daughter, who, says he, could bear no longer with the violence done to her own Conscience; and he

he endeavoured to mollify his heart towards her; the Letter bore date the 15th of March. But the Duke, one of the most violent sticklers for the Religion of his Fore-fathers, answered on the 28th of March, expressing the deepest Sorrow and Affliction he was in, for what his Daughter had done, exhorting her to come back immediately and submit herself to the King and her own Father's Will, and intreating, in the most pressing Words, the Elector to send her back into *France* without delay, and not to suffer his Court to be a Refuge for Children eloped from their own Fathers House. But the Elector, a Man of rare probity and integrity, and who knew as well as the Duke, the Duties of Children towards their Parents, replied, that he was ready to send back the Princess, as soon as the King would have entered his guaranty, that no violence should be offered to her Conscience, and he wrote upon that account to the King. But the Duke, though he desired earnestly to have his Daughter in his power, could never be prevailed to consent to these terms, and at last he declared, that since his Daughter was willing to persevere in the damned Profession of the Reformed Religion, it was better for him that she should live in Germany than in France under his eyes; so that Princess staid at the Elector Palatine's Court till she was married to the Prince of Orange.

The Guises left the Court at this time, with a feigned discontent, because, said they, the King forgetting the many Services the Crown had received from their House, and accounting for nothing the base and cruel murder of the Duke of Guise, had no eyes, attention and affection, but for their Enemies. The Queen-Mother and the Duke of Anjou feigned likewise to be much

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.



Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.

displeas'd at that preference, and affect'd to be thought averse from the King's Opinion and Will. The Admiral and most of his Friends were deceiv'd by these outward appearances, thinking that the King, notwithstanding the oppositions of his Mother and Brother, was really and sincerely resolv'd to maintain the Peace, as useful and necessary to himself and to the Kingdom; that for that reason he desir'd the Marriage of his Sister with the Prince of Navarr, and so to wage War against the Spaniards in the *Low Countries*.

*The Legate
Alexandrine ar-
rives at
Court.*

While the Queen of Navarr was on the Road in her way to Court, the Cardinal Alexandrine Legate of the Pope to the King of *Spain* and that of *Portugal*, receiv'd orders to come to *France*. He set out immediately, and having met with the Queen of Navarr upon the Road, he went without paying any Compliment to her Majesty, and arriv'd at *Blois*, where he had a private Audience of the King, and required of his Majesty, in the Pope's Name, to renounce his Alliance with the *Porte*; to enter into the League against the *Turks*; to marry his Sister with the King of *Portugal*, and not with the Prince of Navarr; and to forbear, as much as possible, from any familiarity and conference with Sectaries.

The Italian Writers say, that the Legate obtain'd nothing as to the Alliance against the *Turks*, and that the said Legate was satisfi'd with the reason the King gave for it, viz. that the affairs of the Kingdom were not in that condition, that he could meddle with the affairs of others, being scarce master of his own; that he could not assist the Christians with Money, his Treasury being almost exhausted by the vast expences of the late Wars, much less could he send
abroad

abroad any Troops; for the Reformed would not go, lest they should be forbidden to come again; and as to the Catholicks, it would not be prudent in the present juncture to send them abroad, lest being deprived of their assistance, the Secretaries should attempt something against his Government. As to the Marriage of his Sister Margaret with the King of Portugal, the Legate insisted much upon it; but the King told him, that the Tranquillity of his Kingdom depended much upon the Marriage of that Princess with the Prince of Navarr, and it was not possible for the Legate to make him alter his Opinion. They add, that the King being pressed, he told him with an Exclamation, *Oh! that I might tell ye every thing, certainly you and the Pope would be satisfied, that there is no better means for restoring the Religion in this Kingdom, and for utterly destroying the Enemies of God and of France than these Nuptials.* As to the rest, I hope that the Pope, convinced by the Event, will extol my Design, my Piety, and my fervent Zeal for Religion. To this Hieronymus Catena, Biographer of Pius V. quoted by Thuanus, adds (according to this last Historian) that the King squeezing the Legate's Hand, offered him a Diamond of great value, which he took off his own Finger, and told him, *There is a pledge of my Word, that I will never depart from the Obedience I have vowed to the Holy See, and that without delay I will execute the Advices I have received, and follow the means prescribed to me for extirpating these impious Sectaries.* But the Legate declined the accepting of the Diamond, saying, that the Word of a most Christian King was sufficient to the Pope, and to himself; that he desired no greater or more certain pledge, and that he could not carry any better to the Pope.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.

But D'Avila, who speaks of that offer, makes the Legate answer in a quite different strain; *The most precious and valuable of all your Jewels*, says he, according to this Historian, *is no more than Dirt in the Judgment of all the Faithful, since your Zeal for the Catholick Religion is quite worn out, and that you have suddenly forsaken it.* But I shall repeat it, that D'Avila is no more to be credited, when he speaks of things transacted in France before his coming into that Kingdom, and contrary to what other Historians of those days have related, than a Tale-teller; he was a witty man, he has written very elegantly in his own Language, but if Veracity is the first Character of an Historian, certainly D'Avila is a very bad one, as any Reader may be convinced, who will compare his Relations with those of the Historians contemporary.

Pius V.
dies.

However the Legate, having received the King's answer, either in such plain words, or, what is more likely, in more obscure, being loaded with many fair promises of the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of Anjou, set out post for *Rome*, having received news of the Pope growing worse and worse every day, who died at length on the first of May, a few days after the arrival of his Nephew, in the 68th Year of his Age, and the 7th of his Pontificate.

Gregory
elected in
his stead.

The Cardinal of Lorraine having received that news, set out with Cardinal de Pellevé Archbishop of *Sens*, in order to assist in the Conclave for the Election of the new Pope. But it happened, that on the 2d day after the Sacred College had been assembled, HUGO BUONCOMPAGNO of Bologn was unanimously elected, and took the Name of GREGORY XIII. Tho' Lorraine received that news upon the Road, nevertheless he continued his rout, looking for an honest

honest pretence for absenting from Court, and willing to confer with the new Pontiff concerning the Queen's-Mother's designs.

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

The Queen of Navarr arrives at Court.

After the Legate was gone, the Queen of Navarr with the Count Lewis of Nassau arrived at Court, attended with a great Retinue; and the Nuptials of Princess Margaret with the Prince of Navarr were regulated, as well as the Articles of the Marriage-contract. The Dowry of the Princess settled by the King amounted to three hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, the Crown being worth 54 Pence, French Money of that time.

By the latter end of April the Treaty of Alliance with Queen Elizabeth was concluded at Blois, by the Duke of Montmorency, Birague, L'Aubespain Bishop of Limoges, and Paul de Foix on the King's part, and Thomas Smith and Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Embassadors. That Alliance was defensive against any Power whatsoever who should attack one of the Parties; they were obliged to send one to the other in case of need eight Men of War, manned with twelve hundred Soldiers, and Provisions for two Months: Item, six thousand Men, in lieu whereof the Queen of England could require from France three thousand Horse; free Commerce between the two Nations; the English were to enjoy in France the same privileges and immunities as they did at Bruges, Antwerp, Berghen in Norway; no Englishman should be molested in France on account of his Religion; the French and English should unite together, for restoring and settling Peace in Scotland; whatever had been taken by the English should be restored in 40 days time. These Articles the King swore to, in presence of Admiral Clinton, sent by the Queen for that purpose, and her Majesty did the same at Westminster

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. *minster* the 16th of May, in presence of the Duke of Montmorency, Paul de Foix, and La Mothe Fenelon; and the next day she gave the Order of the Garter to the Duke of Montmorency.

The eighth National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France.

The eighth National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France opened its Sessions this Year on the 6th day of May at *Nismes* in Languedoc, and lasted but three days; De La Place was elected Moderator and Secretary to that Synod. Thuanus mistakes again, when he says, that De Beze was Moderator; it is true, he assisted in it, only as any other Minister and a Deputy of the Church of *Geneva*, but not as Moderator, since De La Place proposed and signed. They made several Regulations, with a great deal of discretion and moderation concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, whereupon I shall not insist here; only I shall observe, that by this Synod it was enacted, that a Professor in Divinity might keep his Wife, though convicted of Adultery, but the same liberty was not allowed to a Minister, because of the Consequences, his Character being much more publick than that of a Professor, and he being obliged to be an Example. The Admiral wrote to this Synod, and it appears, by the deliberation and resolution of that Assembly, that his Letters were full of large encomiums of the King's good intentions and will towards the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom.

The Admiral unmovable in his Resolution.

All this while the said Admiral was the more and more confirmed in the good opinion he had conceived of the King's sincerity, and tho' he received every day, and from several places, new warnings to take care of himself, and provide for his own security, and that of so many who depended upon him; that good upright

right Man, judging of the King's Character by his own, could never be diverted from his first resolution to trust intirely to the King; nay, he went so far, as to blame those, who being not so credulous as himself, regarded for their own preservation.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Philip Strozzi, the Baron de la Garde, and Landeray, being sent to *Xaintonge*, under pretence of sailing with a Fleet into the *Low Countries*, and from thence into the *Indies*, against the Spaniards; the Rochellese suspecting the truth of the matter, sent several Messengers to the Admiral, intreating him not to trust so far to the promises of the Court. But his heart being void of all suspicion, he answered, that every thing ought to be interpreted in the most favourable sense, and that things were come to such a pass, that he had more to expect from the King's favour, than he had to fear from his anger. That these were some artful devices of their Enemies, who endeavoured by these false Rumours to fill the Reformed with jealousies and suspicions, that by their continual mistrusts, they might incur the King's Indignation, and render themselves unworthy of his Favours. Therefore he exhorted them to be deaf to these sinistrous suspicions, and to trust themselves and their All unto the Providence of Almighty God, and the Goodness of their King. And willing to join deeds to words, he advised the Chiefs of his Party to restore unto the King the places he had granted unto them by his Edict of *St. Germain* for their own security, though the time was not yet expired; but in that respect, his advice was not regarded, at least as to *Rochelle*, *La Charité*, and *Montauban*; since *La Charité* was surprised by the King's Troops a few Months after, and during the Massacre, and that the Reformed kept

Charles IX. 1571. Pope Gregory XIII. their ground at *Rochelle* and *Montauban*: and I do not know from whence Thuanus has learned, that this the Admiral's advice was followed and executed; for which reason the King, out of gratitude, sent orders to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, to watch narrowly over the strict Observation of his Edict.

The Queen of Navarr goes to Paris. On the 15th of May the Queen of Navarr set out from Blois for Paris, there to make the necessary preparations for the approaching Nuptials; she took an apartment at the House of Charles Guillart Bishop of Chartres, who then professed publickly the Reformed Religion, and had been heretofore cited to Rome upon suspicion. The Queen having been much hurried with Business, was taken ill with a Fever on the 4th of June, and died on the 5th day, that is, the 9th of the same Month, in the 44th Year of her Age.

She dies there.

A Princess endowed with all the Virtues and other Qualifications that can adorn a Throne, sincere and stedfast in the Reformed Religion which she had embraced, and which she constantly followed, notwithstanding the many dangers she was exposed to, but she preferred Religion before all the Riches and Dignities in the World; in all her Distresses she relied intirely upon God rather than upon Men; she was extraordinary curious of the Education of her Children, and was not without anxiety, when she thought of the danger the Prince her Son would be exposed to, as to his Religion and Morals, by the Alliance he was to contract, in the most dissolute Court that had ever been in the World, but that she could not avoid. She was poisoned with a Pair of Gloves, but the Poison having offended only the Head, which was not opened, no signs of it were perceived in the Body: Happy

was

was she, to die at that time, not to be an eye-witness of the cruel Butchery of so many of her Friends, Relations and Servants, who professed the same Religion with her.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

She made her last Will two or three days before she died, whereby, after having recommended her Soul to the mercy of God, she desired to be buried without any Funeral Pomp, hard by her Father Henry, King of Navarr. She earnestly intreated the Prince her Son, to be above all things Pious and Religious, according to the Principles wherein he had been brought up, and not suffer himself to be diverted from it by the fumes, vain pleasures, and other allurements of the World, nor by any inducement of Vices; to take care that the Laws and Constitutions she had made about Religion, in her own Dominions of *Bearn*, and *Lower Navarr*, should be exactly observed; to remove intirely from his Household, all bad Counsellors, and those given to Impiety and Profaneness, or otherwise vicious and dissolute; to admit none into his Council, but what were thoroughly pious, honest, and good Men, amongst whom she named DE BEAUVOIR, DE FRANCOUR, and DE BETHUT. She recommended unto him the principal care of his Sister the Princess Catherine, and to treat her in a gentle and loving manner, without any roughness, and to take care that she might be brought up in the same Reformed Religion in *Bearn*, and when she should be at Age to marry her with some Protestant Prince of the same Rank with her, to love as Brethren his two first Cousins, Henry Prince of Condé, and Francis Marquess of Conti, and to entertain above all a good concord and union with the Admiral to the glory of God; lastly, she instituted him her sole Heir, and besought the King,

the

Her last Will.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. the Queen-Mother, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon to receive the Prince and the Princess her Children under their Protection, and to grant unto them the free Profession of their Religion; she named Charles Cardinal of Bourbon her Brother-in-Law, and Admiral de Coligny, Executors of this last Will.

The Letter she wrote from Blois to the Prince her Son, doth exprefs so well the real Sentiments of her great Soul, and gives us so full a Description of the dissolute Lives of the Court and the Courtiers, that it would be almost an injury done to her Memory, should I conceal it from the Publick; it is as follows.

„ MY SON,

*Her Letter
to the
Prince her
Son.*

„ I Am in labour, and in such an extremity,
 „ that was it not for the provision I had
 „ made, I should have been extremely tormen-
 „ ted. The hurry wherein I am for dispatch-
 „ ing this Bearer, hinders me from enlarging
 „ myself so much as I did in my former. I
 „ have only given unto him some minutes and
 „ heads, as memorandums of what he shall
 „ tell you. I would have sent back *Richardiere*,
 „ but he is too much fatigued; and besides
 „ that, he will go soon after this Bearer to let
 „ you know how affairs stand: I send this
 „ exprefs to let you know one thing, viz. That
 „ I am obliged to negotiate in a way quite
 „ contrary to what I had expected, and been
 „ promised; for I am not at liberty to talk with
 „ the King, nor with Madam, but only with the
 „ Queen Mother; who deals with me very
 „ scurvily, as this Bearer will tell you. As to
 „ Monsieur (*) he is very privy with me, but half
 „ in banter, as you know him, and half in dis-
 „ sembling. As to Madam, I saw her only in
 „ the

(*) *The
Duke of
Anjou.*

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

„ the Queen-Mother's Apartment, a very unfit
„ place, from whence she does not stir, and she
„ goes into her own Apartment, only at such hours
„ that are very troublesome to me, and Madam
„ de Curton never goes from her, so I cannot
„ speak to that Princess but her Governess hears
„ whatever I say. I have not as yet shew'd your
„ Letter unto her, but I will. I have told her
„ of it, she is much reserved, and she answers
„ me always in general expressions of obedience
„ and reverence towards you and me, if she
„ becomes your Wife.

„ Seeing then, my Son, that nothing is done,
„ and that they will force me to hurry on
„ affairs, and not to digest them with or-
„ der; I have complained of it three times to
„ the Queen, but she laugh'd at me, and behind
„ my back makes me say quite the reverse to
„ what I have said: In so much that I am bla-
„ med for it by my Friends, and I do not know
„ how to give the lye to the Queen; for when
„ I told her, MADAM, People say that I have
„ spoken unto you such and such things, tho'
„ these Reports came from herself, nevertheless
„ she denies it, as she would a Murder, and laughs
„ in my face, and uses me in such a manner,
„ that you may say that my patience exceeds
„ *Griselidis*. Do I think to show her by good
„ reasons, that I am very far from the hope
„ she had given me, to be privy with her, and to
„ treat with her in the best manner? She denies
„ all that, and whereas this Bearer knows her
„ Words, which he will tell ye, you will be bet-
„ ter enabled to judge of my situation. Have I
„ done with her? I have to deal with a croud of
„ Reformed, that come to talk with me, rather
„ for diving into my thoughts and spying my
„ actions, than for assisting me; and these are
„ even

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

„ even some of the chief, and such that I am
„ obliged to speak with them, and say many
„ things, or else I must quarrel with them.
„ There are some others who are no less trou-
„ blesome, they are HERMAPHRODITES. in Re-
„ ligion, but I keep myself from them, the best
„ I can. I cannot say that I am without Coun-
„ sel, for every one gives me his own, but not
„ two agree together.

„ Seeing then, that I am always wavering, the
„ Queen has told me, that she could not agree
„ with me, and that some of your own Coun-
„ sellors ought to meet together for adjusting
„ matters. She has named those which you
„ shall see on both sides. Every thing is done
„ by her, which has obliged me to send this
„ Bearer in all haste, to require you, my Son,
„ that you would send me my Chancellor:
„ For I have here no body so able to advise
„ me, and to dispatch business, as he is; other-
„ wise I do forsake all, for I have been
„ brought here upon promise, that the Queen
„ and I should agree together, and not that I
„ should be treated as I am. She is always
„ bantering, and will not abate a tittle, as to
„ the MASS, whereof she had never spoken be-
„ fore, as she doth now. The King on the
„ other side requires of me, that I write unto
„ him. They have given me leave to send
„ for some Ministers, not for disputing, but
„ advising with them. I have sent for Mes-
„ sieurs D'Espina, Merlin, and will send for
„ some others; I desire you to observe, that
„ they have nothing else in view, but to
„ catch you, therefore take care of yourself,
„ for if the King takes it once into his head,
„ as it is said, nothing vexes me more. I send
„ this Bearer upon two accounts, 1st, to ac-
„ quaint

„ quaint you, how they have altered the ways Charles
 „ of treating with me, contrary to what had IX.
 „ been promised; therefore it is absolutely ne- 1572.
 „ cessary that Mr. De Francourt should come as I Pope Ger-
 „ wrote to him; desiring you, my Son, that, in gory XIII.
 „ case he should make any difficulty, you would
 „ persuade him, nay command him; for, I am
 „ sure, if you knew the trouble I am in, you
 „ would pity me; I am treated with the utmost
 „ rigour, vain talking, and banTERS, it is what
 „ I hear, instead of being treated with gravity, ac-
 „ cording to the merit of the case: Therefore
 „ I burst, because I have resolved not to put
 „ myself in passion, it is a wonder to see my
 „ patience. And if I have had any for the time
 „ past, I shall have still more need of it for the
 „ future, and that I shall resolve upon more
 „ than ever. I am much afraid of falling sick,
 „ for I am not very well now.

„ Your Letter is much to my liking, I
 „ will show it to MADAM if I can; as to her
 „ Picture, I shall send for it to Paris. She is
 „ very fair, well-advised and genteel; but
 „ brought up in the cursedst and most dissolute
 „ Company that ever was; and there is no
 „ body here, but has a touch of it. Your Cou-
 „ sin the Marchioness is so much altered by
 „ it, that there is no sign of Religion in her,
 „ only this, that she does not go to Mass; for
 „ as to the way of living, Idolatry excepted,
 „ she lives like the Papists, and my Sister, the
 „ Princess (of Condé) is still worse. I do write
 „ this to you in private. This Bearer will tell
 „ you how much the King grows licentious,
 „ it is a shame. I would not for any thing in
 „ the world, that you should make your abode
 „ here. Therefore I do desire to marry you,
 „ and that you and your Wife should flee from
 „ that

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. } ,, that Corruption; for though I thought that
 ,, it was great, nevertheless it is much greater
 ,, than I could imagine. It is not the Men
 ,, that make the first steps, but the Women that
 ,, court Men. Was you here, you could not
 ,, escape the peril, without the special Grace of
 ,, God. I send you a Knot to wear on the
 ,, ear's side, since you are to sell, and some
 ,, buttons for a cap. Men wear a vast quan-
 ,, tity of Jewels, but we have bought already
 ,, for a hundred thousand Crowns, and every
 ,, day more are bought. It is said, that the
 ,, Queen goes to *Paris* with MONSIEUR. If
 ,, I stay here, I will take a turn into *Vendomois*.
 ,, I desire you, my Son, to send back this Bearer
 ,, immediately, and when you shall write to
 ,, me, insert in your Letter, *That you dare not*
 ,, *to write to MADAM, lest you should disoblige*
 ,, *her, knowing not how she has been pleased with*
 ,, *the first.* Your Sister is very well.

She speaks of some Letters of Mr. de la Case,
then she goes on thus; ,, I desire you again, that
 ,, since I have been deprived of the way of treat-
 ,, ing which I expected, and that I am obliged
 ,, to speak by advice and counsel, that you would
 ,, send to me Mr. De Francourt. I am still of
 ,, the same mind, that you must return into
 ,, *Bearn*. My Son, you have rightly judged by
 ,, my first Letters, that they endeavour only to
 ,, separate you from God and from me, you
 ,, will judge the same by this last, and of the
 ,, trouble I am in for your sake. I desire you
 ,, to put up earnest Prayers to God, for you
 ,, want much his assistance at any time, but es-
 ,, pecially at this; and I beseech him to assist you,
 ,, and that he would grant to you my Son what-
 ,, ever you desire. From your good Mother
 and best Friend,

JOHANNA.
 Postscript.

Blois, the 8th of March:

Postscript,

„ MY SON, since I wrote my Letter, having as
 „ yet no opportunity for shewing yours to MA-
 „ DAM, I told her the contents of it. She an-
 „ swered, that when that Marriage had been
 „ proposed at first, they knew very well of what
 „ Religion she was, and that she had a great at-
 „ tachment for it. I replied, that those who
 „ had begun that work did not say so, and that
 „ they had made the Article of Religion so easy,
 „ saying even that she had some affection for
 „ ours; that otherwise, I would not have gone
 „ so far, and that I intreated her to think
 „ of it. At other times, when I did talk with
 „ her upon that Subject, she had never answer-
 „ ed in so absolute and rough a manner. I do
 „ think that she speaks, just as she is bid, and also
 „ that what we had been told concerning her
 „ Inclination to our Religion, was but a snare to
 „ entrap us. I lose no opportunity of making
 „ her to talk in a way a little satisfactory unto
 „ me. I asked her last Night, whether she had
 „ any thing to let you know, but she answered
 „ not; I insisted, but she said, that she could
 „ send nothing without leave, however she bid
 „ me to pay her Compliments to you, and that
 „ you must come. But I say the contrary.

The Superscription of the Letter, was,

To MY SON.

It appears, by that Letter related by LE
 LABOUREUR, in his Additions to the Memoirs
 of Castelnau, Book III. ch. 13. pag. 856, 60,
 61. that the Queen of Navarr had much trouble
 and difficulties to go through, before she could
 bring that Negotiation to a conclusion, that made
 her to use these Words, *I am in labour*; be-
 sides that, we must observe, that she does not
 magnify

Charles
 XI.
 1572.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII

magnify the Objects, when she represents the monstrous enormities of the Court, which were but too crying to justify the designs of Providence against the remainders of the House of Valois, which she would utterly destroy by the Civil Wars, and restore by that means the State of that Kingdom wretchedly torn in pieces by the ambition of the Factious, deformed by the hypocrisy of the Great, and become ridiculous and intolerable together, by its being exposed to the petulancy of an unruly Youth, to the lavishness, debaucheries and fury of those who were at the Helm, under whose protection Treasons and Murders became very rife, and the Traitors and Murderers Persons, were sacred.

Joanna, according to her orders, was buried at *Lescar* in *Bearn*. Many Epitaphs were made to her honour; amongst which, these two were some of the best.

Miraris cur quæ jacet hic Regina Navarræ,
Cum bona tum prudens, tum pia siqua fuit,
In Cœlum vix quinque dies ægrota volarit?
Quod mortale habuit sic fuit exiguum.

It was translated in French after this way.

S'esbahit on pourquoy la Reine de Navarre,
En sageſſe, en bonté, en pieté si rare,
N'a languì que cinq jours à s'envoler au ciel?
C'est le peu quelle avoit en elle de mortel.

The meaning is, Do you wonder at the Queen of Navarr, so wise, good and pious, having been but five days sick, ſied away into Heaven? She had but very little of Mortality in her.

Another,

Dum mens continuò cœlestia ſpirat, anhelum
Deficiens corpus, ceſſit, & humi jacet.

That

That is, While her Soul is forthwith breathing heavenly things, her Body for want of breath falls into the Ground (g).

Charles IX.

1572...
Pope Gregory XIII.

The King feigned to be much concerned at her Death, and went into mourning, and the whole Court followed his example, lest their wicked designs should miscarry by that event (b).

By this time the Count Ludovic was gone for Flanders, attended with Saucourt, La Nouë and Genlis, three Gentlemen for whom the Admiral had a great value; the King had commanded them to endeavour, by some speedy means, to seize upon some frontier Town. That order was only a device of the King, for he intended, if the Count's enterprize succeeded well, to improve it to his own advantage, in case his Plot in France should not succeed to his Wishes; and he questioned not, but that they would be cut in pieces by the Duke of Alva, if they miscarried. So they set out cheerfully for Flanders, without giving any previous notice to the Admiral, who took it very ill, and wrote to them accordingly, upbraiding them with rashness, since they knew very well, that he could not assemble sufficient Forces to send to their relief before six Weeks.

Count Ludovic's Expedition in Flanders.

However Count Ludovic, zealous for the Liberty of his own Country, and fearing lest the King should alter his mind, attacked at first *Vallenciennes*, but being repulsed by the Spanish Garrison in the Castle, he marched away suddenly and surpris'd *Mons*, which was strong by its situation, and provided with every thing ne-

VOL. III.

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cessary

(g) *Etat de la France sous Charles IX.* Vol. 1. Fol. 238. 2d Edit. Middelburgh 1578. (b) Thuan. liv. 51. p. 792. and all what I have said from the Article 118, the Queen of Navarr's Letter excepted, is extracted out of the Book 49, 50, 51. of the same Historian, and D'Aubigné Tom. 2. liv. 1. D'Avila. liv. v.

Charles IX. 1571. Pope Gregory XIII. necessary for a Siege. That exploit was immediately published in *Flanders, France and Germany*, whereupon the Reformed began to conceive better hopes, and to think that now the King had declared himself openly. Alva incensed at this, though he had received Letters upon that Subject, of the Queen-Mother and her Secret Council, told to *Montdoucet* the French Ambassador, *that the Queen-Mother had served him with some Flowers of Florence, but that he would sent unto her some Thistles of Spain.* The secret Council, and especially those of Guise, understanding how that Man was discontented, endeavoured to appease him, and warned him to be ready with his Forces for intercepting those that were going to relieve *Mons*, for *Genlis* was come back to *Paris*, and had obtained the King's leave for raising some Companies of Foot and some Troops of Horse for that purpose.

The King of Navarr solicited to come to Court. After the Queen of Navarr's Death, the King sent frequent Messages to the Prince of Navarr (*whom henceforward we shall stile King of Navarr*) to solicit him to come without any delay; for accomplishing his Marriage with the Princess Margaret of Valois at *Paris*, as it had been agreed upon with the deceased Queen his Mother.

And the Admiral too. The Admiral was then at *Châtillon upon Loing*, where he received likewise frequent Messages from the King; and because he did not stir, his Majesty sent unto him *Cavagnes*, and after him *Briquemaut* the old, in order to hasten his coming to *Paris*, for furthering and finishing the Scheme of the pretended War in *Flanders*. At the same time, he sent very positive orders to the Provost of the Merchants, and other Magistrates at *Paris*, to be careful, lest any tumult or sedition should be raised in that Capital at the coming in of the Admiral. Being

Being solicited by so many Persons, and desirous to carry the War out of France, and judging of the King by himself, he set out for Paris, without any regard for the pressing Remonstrances of his Friends within and without the Kingdom, who intreated him, that if he could not conceive any bad opinion or mistrust of the King, at least he would be pleased to consider into what place he was going to shut up himself among so vast a croud of sworn Enemies. But trusting too far upon his good Conscience, and upon the Providence of God, he set out as above said, with a small Retinue, and arrived at Paris to the great surprise of the whole City, which expected not that he would have been so imprudent, or self-conceited, as to expose himself to so threatening a danger; he was received by the King, his Brethren, the Queen-Mother, and others, with all the outward demonstrations of esteem and reverence.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Admiral comes to Paris.

On the 7th of July, the King issued out a Proclamation, forbidding all quarrelling or riotings in the City of *Paris*, and commanding all Foreigners and Vagabonds to depart from it in twenty four Hours.

The Admiral, always too open with the King, told him, that he knew three thousand Gentlemen that would serve his Majesty at their own charge in the War of *Flanders*. The King feigned to be very well pleased with the News, and did not forget to enquire where they lived, and whom they were. The Admiral named several of them, and the King desired him to give him a list of the chiefs and the most notable amongst them; which being done, and desiring further to know a greater number of them, asked him whither several of those, whose names he saw not in that list, were gone, and desired

Rass Proposition of the Admiral.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. him to send for such and such ones, naming and praising them for good Captains and honest Men; which the Admiral promised to do, and increased his list, to the great satisfaction of the King: for these poor Gentlemen, who otherwise would have staid at their home, having received the King's orders, came to Paris about the same time as the King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé; the Marriage of this last with the Princess of Cleves, had been accomplished at *Blandi in Brie*, at the beginning of August, and almost the whole Court went to meet them out of *Paris*.

The King of Navarr's Arrival at Paris.

After their Arrival the Queen's secret Council thought proper to delay the Ceremony of the Marriage some days longer, as well because all their Butchers were not come as yet, as because Genlis, who had with him four thousand foot and five hundred horse, was still in France; therefore they thought proper to raise some scruples in the mind of the Cardinal of Bourbon; who was to perform the Ceremony, and accordingly he flatly refused to do it without a special Licence of the Pope, who feigned to be very stiff upon that account, but at last, he granted it: but the Cardinal finding it defective in some respects, they were obliged to send again to *Rome* to have another.

Genlis routed.

Mean while they waited with great impatience for the News of Genlis's expedition, who was gone to relieve Count Ludovic and La Nouë who were besieged in *Mons* by Alva. But this General having been warned by the secret Council, as abovesaid, of the Forces of Genlis, of the day of his marching, of the rout he was to take, and of every thing else, it was easy for him to surprize these Troops, and to rout them, cutting most part of them to pieces, and taking

taking the rest Prisoners : he dealt with them, not as Prisoners of War, though they went into *Flanders* by the King's command, but as with Highwaymen, hanging them and torturing them in a thousand other cruel ways, and all that at the secret Council's instigation, as much as by the barbarous and natural dispositions of the mad Cannibalian, I mean ALVA. Very few escaped death, amongst whom was La Noüe taken in *Mons*, and sent back into France after the Massacre. It would be too tedious to relate all the feigned Contorsions, Anger, Passion, Oaths, Swearing and Curfes of Charles IX. at the reception of this News ; the promises he made to the Admiral, to revenge the Blood of his Subjects, the order he gave him to raise new Forces for that purpose, the part which Queen Catherine play'd in this Tragi-comedy, her feigned discontent of the King, as if he had sent these Troops without her Knowledge, her Instances for leaving the Court, and retiring into *Auvergne*, and so many other treacherous Grimaces, put on on purpose to deceive more and more the Admiral and his Friends. Let us make haste to the unravelling of that base Plot.

The Admiral lull'd by the great regard which the King feigned to have for him, became almost senseless, the repeated Warnings he received from abroad, the Intreaties of his Friends, the Letters of the *Rochellese*, who gave him a very particular account of the many insults they received from Strossy and Captain Paulin, alias Baron de la Garde, who commanded the King's Fleet in those parts, and of the threatnings they heard of a speedy change, served only to exasperate him against them ; in a word, he was angry with all those who were not so credulous

Charles IX.

1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Admiral more and more deceived.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

as himself, and could not bear to see a Distrust in any body. Whereupon I shall relate here the Answer of Captain *Langoiran*, who being come to take his Leave of the Admiral, being asked the reason of his going away, said, *because you are too much caress'd here, and that I chuse rather to run away with the mad, than to stay with the fools, because there are Remedies for the first, but not for the others.* But what blinded him up entirely and stopp'd his Ears more and more, was the Embassy of the Bishop of Valence to the Republick of *Poland*, for solliciting the Estates of that Country to chuse for their King the Duke of Anjou, who was indeed one of the greatest Enemies the Reformed had at Court. The Admiral doubted not but that the King desired earnestly to bring every thing to a sure and lasting Peace, since the Duke of Anjou who had a great Interest throughout the whole Kingdom, being once confined in *Poland*, his Adherents being deprived of such a Support would grow milder; the House of Guise would be careful not to be so busy; for he took for a reality the feigned frownings which the King shewed ostentimes to the Chief of that House; and lastly, that the Queen-Mother would be forced to resign the whole Government to the King her Son, who feigned likewise to be much displeas'd at her (*i*).

Upon such fickle foundation was it, that the Admiral grounded his certain hopes of a lasting Peace, and that he looked upon those who endeavoured to dissuade him as so many Disturbers of the publick Peace, Enemies to the King and to their own Country. I shall relate more at large that Negotiation of *Poland*, when I shall give

(i) Thuan. lib. 51. Aubigné tom. 2. liv. 1. ch. 2, 3. Recueil des choses mem. arrivées en France sous Charles 9. p. 419—423.

give an Account of the principal Events of next Year. But I cannot omit here the good Advice given by the Bishop of Valence to the Count of La Rochefoucault and some other Reformed Lords a few days before he set out for *Polland*, that is before the 17th of August, not to meddle themselves with that Chimerick War of *Flanders*, but rather to return speedily to their home; for, says he, *you have no great reason to rely so much upon the fair Shews of the Court, neither to stay any longer here, considering the Jealousy, Hatred and Malice which most of the Greatest, and generally the whole City bear unto you.* But God would not permit them to hearken to this good Counsel.

Charles IX.

1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Wholesome
warning
of the Bi-
shop of Va-
lence.

The Pope's Dispensation, either real or fictitious, but such as it was desired, being come from Rome, the King appointed the 18th of August for the Wedding-Day. On the 17th the King of Navarr and the Princess were betrothed in the *Louvre*, and the next day they were married, and the Ceremony was performed by the Cardinal of Bourbon in *Our Lady's Church*. It is to be observed, that the said Ceremony was performed upon a great Scaffold erected before the Gate of the Church; which done, the Princess went into the Church to hear Mass, and the King of Navarr stayed in the Cloyster. I shall not describe here the Pomp and Magnificence of the Feasts given on this account for several days, which were as extravagant as Catharine could imagine, because they portended nothing but what happened a few days after.

The Ceremony of the
Wedding.

While they were a feasting, those who had been sent for by the King, his Mother, and the Guises, arrived every day. The Resolution which had been taken some days before was then fully ratified at *Paris* and at *St. Cloud*, not to let

Preparations for
Massacre.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

the Admiral escape, but to murder him in Paris with all those who should offer to defend him. The Queen Mother, with few of her most secret and trusty Confidants, designed not only to murder the Admiral, but also to engage the two Parties of Guise and Chatillon, in order to destroy the one by the other. Those of Guise's pretended to murder the Admiral, and to have the Reformed destroyed by the Mob in the King's Name, and to favour and save as many as they could, in order to cast the odium of the Massacre upon the King, his Mother, and the Duke of Anjou, and to forward by that means by little and little their own Interest.

Maurevel that base Murderer mentioned before, had been pick'd out by the Guises for murdering the Admiral; the Duke of Anjou himself and then the Count of Retz had been two or three Weeks before to talk with him, and make sure of him: he arrived at *Paris* on the 20th, and took lodging in a House hard by the Louvre where he remain'd concealed till the 22d.

On the 20th the King took apart the Admiral, and feigning to be much uneasy about the great Company that attended the Duke of Guise, he told him, that he thought that the properest means for avoiding all disorder would be to set his Arquebusiers at some convenient places under the Command of such Officers which he named. The Admiral mistrusting of nothing, and making very little account of the Duke of Guise, as long as the King should be stedfast in the Resolution he seemed to be in, told his Majesty, that he was Master, and might dispose of every thing just as he pleased. Therefore the King ordered five or six hundred Arquebusiers to be lodged at certain Places about the *Louvre*, and many more in other quarters more distant. The Marshal of Mont-

Montmorancy considering all these Confusions, and dreading the Ambushes of the House of Guise mortal Enemies to his own, retired into his own House at *Chantilly*, on pretence of a hunting Match, and escaped thereby the danger; for he and his Brethren were particularly noted in the List of those that were to be murdered, but his Absence hindered the Murderers from attempting any thing against his Brethren, not to provoke an Enemy so powerful. Now every thing was ready for beginning the Tragedy: And

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Pius
V.

—Here you might see the most bloody Rage
That ever did religious Fiends engage;
A Reconcilement, with a Wedding Feast,
While Murder was the Treat of ev'ry Guest:
Which well may prove, to Ages yet to come,
The Faith of FRANCE, the Charity of
ROME.

FRANCE, by the most detested Perjury,
Enslaved its Subjects, who by Laws were free,
No Sacrament can this *great Hero* bind,
Oaths are weak Shackles for his *mighty Mind*,
And worse than Heathens does he persecute.
His Priests want Sense and Learning to dispute;
But weak Divines by strong Dragoons confute:
And whoe'er doubts of any Priestly Maggot,
Th'Heretick Dog must be convinc'd by Faggot.
With ROME's Religion and FRENCH
Government,

What Slave so abject as to be content?
Now, idle, disaffected, what is't you'd have?
Would you be an Idolater or a Slave?
What do you murmur for, because you're free,
And this blest'd Isle enjoys its Liberty?
Cross but the Narrow Seas, and you will find
Slav'ry and Superstition to your mind (k).

On

(k) *Massacre of Paris*, a Tragedy by Nath. Lee.

Charles
IX.

1572.

Pope Pius

V.

The Admi-
ral wound-
ed, and
the Trans-
actions of
the two
days before
the Massa-
cre.

On Friday the 22d of August as the Admiral came out from the *Louvre*, where he had been all the Morning with the Marshals of Cossé and Tavannes for adjusting some quarrel betwixt two Gentlemen, and was walking home to dinner attended with about 15 Gentlemen, and reading a Petition, Maurevel fired at him an Arquebuss loaded with three bullets, from a Window in a Parlour, about 15 Yards distant from the *Louvre*; one of the Bullets shot off part of the 2d Finger of his right Hand, and he was wounded with another in his left Arm. Guerchy, Des PrunEAU, and other Gentlemen that were with him, were amazed and frighted at it; as to the Admiral, he was not much moved, he shewed the Window from whence he had been shot, and the Places where he had been wounded; then he spoke very calmly to Yolet, Gentleman of his Horse, to go and tell his Majesty what had befallen him. He was brought to his House which was not very far off, and as he went a Gentleman told him, that it was to be feared lest the Bullets were poisoned; to which he replied, *Nothing will befall me but what will please God.*

Though the House from whence Maurevel had fired was forced and searched, the Villain could not be found, he was gone by a back door where a swift Spanish Horse was kept ready for him. The King understanding that the Admiral was wounded, fell into a violent Passion, he was at the Tennis, he flung his Racket upon the Ground, and cursing, as usual to him, he exclaim'd, *shall I never enjoy Quietness!*

The Admiral's wound disappointed the whole Secret Council, for they expected that he would have been killed; they saw themselves obliged to take a little time, for considering what was to be done in the present Juncture.

The

The King of Navarr, the Prince of Condé, the Count of Rochefoucault and several other Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion came to visit the Admiral, as well as several Lords and Gentlemen, his Friends of the Catholick Religion, all of them expressed the greatest Concern for what had happened.

Charles
XI.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

His Wounds were dressed by Ambrosius Paré first Surgeon to the King, tho' of the Reformed Religion, he begun with the Finger which he was obliged to cut off, and the Admiral could not but suffer the most exquisite Pains in the Operation, for his Scissars being not sharp enough, he was forced to open and shut them three times, but the Patient bore it with a true Christian Constancy and an Heroick Resolution, comforting himself, and even the Ministers that were come to comfort him; *My Friends says he, to the Company, what do you cry for? I deem my self very happy, that I have been so wounded for the sake of Christ. Then speaking to his Chaplain Mr. Merlin: Lo! says he, my Friend, some of God's Mercies; indeed I am desperately wounded, but I know that it is the Will of the Lord our God, and I thank his sacred Majesty that he had vouchsafed me the Honour of suffering something for his most holy Name. Let us pray that he will be pleased to grant me the Gift of Perseverance, that I may glorify him to the last.* Then he desired Merlin, who was deeply concerned, to comfort him; many other pious Conversations passed between him and the Company, which he concluded with a fervent Prayer to God of his own; he declared that he forgave his Murderer and those who had abetted him; then Merlin made a Prayer suitable to the melancholy Occasion.

The King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé made their Complaints to the King, and be-
sought

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. fought his Majesty to grant them leave to depart the City, seeing that there was no Security for them in it. But the King composed so well his Countenance, that with a thousand Oaths and Curses against the Murderer and his Abettors, that he would punish them exemplarily, he allayed their fears: The Queen-Mother was present, and failed not to amplify whatever the King her Son had said promising to do such Justice that the Admiral and his Friends would be fully satisfy'd, they both desired the two Princes not to stir out from Court, and to rely upon them. The King commanded the Gates of Paris to be shut up, two excepted, *lest*, says he, *any of the Accomplices should escape*, and he caused a Search of them to be made. Then he commanded the Provost of the Merchants to obey whatever orders the Duke of Anjou should give him; in a word, he and his Mother disssembled so well, that the two Princes, being imposed upon by the fair Shews, thought no more of removing.

Catherine and her Secret Council seeing themselves disappointed, and that the Reformed did not stir for revenging the Admiral, upon the Duke of Guise, as they had supposed they would do, they were obliged to alter their Course, and resolved to fall only upon the Admiral and the Reformed, seeing that they could not compass their end, which was at first, as abovesaid, to engage the two Parties of the Guises and Chailly, and to destroy them both, one by the other.

All the Enquiries made after the Murderer and Chailly one of his Accomplices were needless, and indeed they were not made in earnest, but only for a Shew; Maurevel had had time enough for making his Escape, and Chailly found a Sanctuary in the Duke of Guise's Apartment in the *Louvre*.

Mean

Mean while the Admiral sent Telligny his Son in Law, to the King, beseeching his Majesty that he might have the Honour to talk with him and impart unto him some things of great moment which he could not intrust any body with. Whereupon the King came to visit him at two in the Afternoon; he was attended by the Queen his Mother, his two Brothers, the Duke of Montpensier, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Marshals of Damville, Tavannes, and Cossé, the Count of Retz, the Lords of Thoré, Meru; and after them came the Duke of Nevers. At first by the King's Orders all the Admiral's Servants went out of the Room; Telligny only with his Lady, and another who escaped providentially from the Massacre, stayed by him, after some Compliments, the Admiral spoke to the King to the following Purport.

„ SIR, I am sure that after my Death, many
 „ will endeavour to asperse my Reputation by
 „ their calumnies. But God, before whom I
 „ am going to appear, is witness unto me, that I
 „ have been always a faithful and affectionate
 „ Servant to your Majesty, and that I never
 „ had any thing more at heart than the Welfare
 „ of my Country and the Increase of your Great-
 „ ness. And tho' many have endeavoured to
 „ charge me with the Crime of Felony and
 „ High Treason, nevertheless my Actions shew
 „ forth sufficiently, to whom all the past and
 „ present Miseries are to be ascribed. I call
 „ God to be witness of my Innocency, and I
 „ beseech him to be Judge between me and my
 „ Accusers, and I am sure that he will be so
 „ and judge me in that respect, according to his
 „ own Righteousness. As to me I am ready to
 „ account for my Actions before his most Sacred
 „ Majesty,

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII.

„ Majesty, if such is his Will, that I must die
 „ with this Wound. But without dwelling any
 „ longer upon that Subject; your Majesty's
 „ Royal Progenitor had conferred upon me several
 „ Offices and Dignities, which you have been
 „ pleased to confirm unto me, and as I am most
 „ zealous for the increase of your own Glory,
 „ I cannot forbear saying, that you do overlook
 „ too inconsiderately the means of forwarding
 „ it. You have now a very fair Opportunity
 „ in your hands, and such a one as your Royal
 „ Predecessors have never had the like. If you do
 „ neglect it intirely, besides that you will be sorry
 „ for it afterwards, I am afraid lest your King-
 „ dom should be deeply wounded by it. Nay,
 „ that it will be in great danger of being in-
 „ tirely ruined. Is it not a Shame, SIR, that
 „ the least thing in the World cannot be done
 „ in your Privy Council, but immediately a
 „ *Courier* is sent expresse to the Duke of Alva,
 „ for acquainting him with it? What a base
 „ thing is it, that that Duke has caused some
 „ French Noblemen and Gentlemen, so many
 „ brave Captains and stout Soldiers, your own
 „ Subjects taken prisoners at the rout of Genlis,
 „ to be hang'd? of which Indignity I received
 „ News last night. But in your Court, SIR, they
 „ do not regard that, they laugh at it. Such is
 „ the Love and good Affection that the French
 „ bear to their own Countrymen, such their
 „ Pity for the base and cruel Usage they have re-
 „ ceived. The second thing whereof I think pro-
 „ per to put your Majesty in mind, is the open
 „ violation of your Edicts, and especially the
 „ late Edict of Peace, you have sworn it so
 „ many times and so solemnly, that all the foreign
 „ Nations and Princes are witnesses thereof;
 „ you have sworn to observe the Treaty made
 „ with

„ with your Reformed Subjects. But it is not
 „ possible to tell, in how many Places of the
 „ Kingdom that Promise is basely violated, not
 „ only by some private Men, but even by your
 „ Governors and Officers. SIR, many times I
 „ have propos'd these things unto your Majesty's
 „ Consideration, and besought that you would
 „ acknowledge that the keeping of your Faith
 „ and publick Promises is the only true means
 „ of restoring your Kingdom into its antient
 „ Glory. I have said sometimes the same thing
 „ unto you, MADAM, (*speaking to the Queen-*
 „ *Mother*) but for all that every day we receive
 „ new Complaints of Murders, Plunders, and
 „ Seditions committed and exercised every where.
 „ Not long ago the Catholicks of a Place near
 „ Troyes in *Champaign*, having understood that
 „ a Child was carried from Church where he
 „ had been baptized, they assaulted the Com-
 „ pany, and murdered the Baby in the Arms of
 „ his Nurse. SIR, I beseech your Majesty not
 „ to let such Murders go unpunished, and to
 „ have regard for the Quiet and the Welfare of
 „ your Kingdom, and to the Faith you have
 „ promised them.,

To that the King answered, MY LORD AD-
 MIRAL, *I know very well that you are a thorough
 good Man, true Frenchman, and that you desire
 earnestly my Welfare and Glory; I take you to be a
 valiant Man and an excellent Captain, had I had
 any other Notion of you, I never would have done
 for you what I have done: I have always endea-
 voured to have my Edicts faithfully kept, and even
 now I desire that the last should be exactly observed,
 for which purpose I have sent proper Commissaries
 throughout the several Provinces of my Kingdom.
 My Mother may assure you of it. The Queen said
 thereupon, That is very true, my Lord Admiral,
 and*

Charles
 IX.
 1572.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. *and you know it very well. Yes, says the Admiral, but I know too that amongst those Commissaries there are some who have condemned me to be hanged, and have offered fifty thousand Crowns reward to any one who shall bring my Head to your Majesty. Then, says the King, we must send some others who shall not be suspected. But I see that you move yourself a little too much in speaking, which may prove of great prejudice to your health. Indeed you are much wounded, but I feel the pain of your Wound. And G—d—I will take such a Revenge of that Offence, that it shall be remembered for ever.* Several other things were said on both sides, not worth the mentioning; the King and the Queen were curious to see the Bullet which had been drawn out of the Admiral's Arm, it was of Copper. While he was speaking with him, the Count of Retz proposed to Telligny to remove the Admiral into the *Louvre* for his greater Security; but the Physicians being consulted, they thought that he was not in a Condition to be removed without danger.

A little after the King was gone, there was a Council held in the Admiral's Apartment, present the King of Navarr, the Prince of Condé, the Vidame of Chartres, Telligny and several other Lords and Gentlemen, to advise about what was to be done in the present Juncture. The Vidame of Chartres insisted warmly upon the necessity of removing the Admiral from Paris; but the Obstinacy of Telligny was such, that the worst Opinion was followed, and they resolved only to petition the King for speedy Justice and an exemplary Punishment of the Guilty.

That same day the King wrote to all the Governours of Provinces, and of the chief Cities of the Kingdom, and likewise to his Embassadors

dors in the several Courts of Europe, to acquaint them with what had happen'd, and commanding them to let every one know how much he was displeas'd with that base Action; the Queen-Mother did the same, and all that was only a Deceit in order to surprize *La Rochelle*, if they could.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

In the Evening, about Midnight, the Duke of Anjou sent for the Duke of Guise, with whom it was resolv'd, that the next Night they would begin the Work with the Admiral, and the said Duke was charg'd to prepare every thing for the Execution; the Queen-Mother and her Council were not asleep, no more than the King, they waited all for the next Day, with an equal Impatience.

That day being come, a false Rumour was industriously spread in the City, that the Admiral's Friends threatned much those of Guise. Whereupon the Dukes of Guise and Aumale waited upon the King, and told him before several Courtiers, that since it seem'd unto them, that their Services were no longer agreeable to his Majesty from some time ago, they weré ready to depart from the Court, if his Majesty so pleas'd. To which the King, feigning a great Discontent against them, told them with a frowning Face, *Go where you will, I shall easily find you, if you are in any wise Accessaries to what has been done to the Admiral.* Whereat they took their leave of the King, and about mid-day they feign'd to set out from Paris with a great Retinue, but they went no farther than St. Anthony's Gate, and stay'd there.

The Aldermen of the Wards went, according to their Orders, and visited all the Inns and Houses, writing down the Names of the Reformed that were lodg'd there, and brought their Lists unto those who had set them to work. After Dinner, the Queen went with the King, the

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Nevers, Tavannes, and the Count of Retz, into the Gardens of *Thulleries*. There she represented to the Company, that those whom they had so many times hunted after, were now in the Nets: that the Admiral was in Bed, deprived of the use of his Arms, and unable to stir: that the King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé were lodged in the *Louvre*, whose Gates were shut up at Night, and the Watch set upon them, and that they could not escape: that being once rid of the Chiefs, the Reformed would not be in a condition to wage War: that they had the fairest Opportunity in the world of doing a piece of great Policy: that all their Captains were disarmed, and that the Catholics in Paris were above an hundred to one Reformed: that the City could afford sixty thousand Men well armed: that in less than an hour they could utterly destroy the Huguenots all to one, and abolish the very Name of those wicked profligate Men: that if the King did not improve that Opportunity, he might be sure that the Admiral being cured, a fourth Civil War would break out throughout the Kingdom.

The Queen's Opinion was approved of; then it was agreed to spare the King of Navarr, because of his Youth, and of the Alliance newly contracted with him; but as to the Prince of Condé, it was not without much-ado that his Life was granted to the Duke of Nevers, his Brother-in-law, upon promise that he would turn a Catholic. It was farther agreed, that the next Night, before break of Day, the Plot should be executed, and that the Charge of it should be given to the Duke of Guise. In the Evening, the King ordered the 1200 Harquebusiers to be set, Part along the River, Part in the Streets, and another Part by the Admiral's House.

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The Admiral's Friends taking notice of these Stirrings, and of the carriage of Arms in several Places, suspected that something was hatching against them, and having consulted together at the Admiral's House, they sent Cornaton to the King to acquaint him of these Motions of the People, and desire his Majesty to send some Archers of his Guards, to keep the Gates of the said Admiral's House; and that he would be pleased to allow them some Arms in the said House. At this the King feigned to be much moved, and asked him, who had made such a Report, and by what means the Admiral was come to have notice of the Noise? Then he bid the Count of Retz to call for his Mother, who being come, he ask'd her, *What is the matter? for this Man tells me, that the People mutiny, and rise up in Arms. The Mob does neither, says she; but if you remember, you have commanded early this Morning, that every one should be in his Quarters for fear of some Tumult. 'Tis true, quoth he, nevertheless I have forbidden to take up Arms.* Then the Duke of Anjou, who was come with his Mother, answering to what Cornaton had said concerning the Archers of the Guard, said, *take Cossains with fifty Harquebusiers*: but Cornaton replying, that only six Archers of the Guards would be sufficient to repress, by their Authority, the Fury of the Mob; *No, no, says the King, but take Cossains, you cannot chuse a better one to do the business.* Tho' Cornaton knew that Cossains was one of the Admiral's mortal Enemies, nevertheless, after such a Command, he durst not reply any more.

A few hours after, Cossains came to the Admiral's House with fifty Harquebusiers, whom he lodged in two Shops of the Neighbourhood; a little after, Rambouillet a Quarter-Master, came, and in the King's Name commanded all the

Charles
IX.

1572.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion that were lodged in that Street, to go elsewhere, and lodged in their room as many Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion as he could, but especially the Admiral's Friends.

Many other things happened that very Evening, which gave great occasion of Suspicion, such as the expelling of a Page that carried two Spears into the Admiral's House, and was forbid the Entrance by Coffeins, he did the same to another who carried in the Cuirasses of Telligny and Guerchy, Standard-Bearer to the Admiral. Six Porters loaded with Arms, were seen entering into the *Louvre*. Another Council was held in the Admiral's Apartment, the Vidame of Chartres insisted again vehemently upon the absolute Necessity of removing the Admiral, (*who was in a fair way of recovering*) out of Paris, and to leave that City themselves, without any further delay; but he was almost alone of that Opinion, that of Telligny prevailed again, the King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé followed the Stream. Guerchy and several others, having desired to lie that Night in the Admiral's House, Telligny thank'd them for their Kindness, but told them that there was no occasion to give themselves so much Trouble; so, no other besides Cornaton, Labonne, Yolet, Merlin the Chaplain, Paré the King's Surgeon, and five Servants, stayed with him that Night; Telligny himself retired to his own Lodging, next to the Admiral's House, with his Lady at Midnight.

Mean while, the King having told his Brother-in-law the King of Navarr, that he would do well if he advised his most faithful Servants and Adherents to come and lodge in the *Louvre*, for their greater Security, because of the Audaciousness of the Faction of Guise; that Prince, deceived by these

these Out-shews of Kindness, sent indeed for some of the Gentlemen for whom he had the greatest regard, to lodge that Night in the *Louvre*.

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

The Night being come, the Duke of Guise, by the King's Command, sent first for the Captains of the Switzers, and of the new Companies that were come into the City, and told them that the time was come, wherein, by the King's Command, they were to destroy those desperate Men who had caused so many Disorders and Miseries in the Kingdom; that they ought to take care lest any one of them should escape; that not only the Admiral, but all his Associates and Adherents ought to be utterly undone that very Night, and encouraged them to an exact Performance, by the hopes of the Plunder. The Switzers were ordered to guard the *Louvre* with some French Troops, and to take care lest any body of the King of Navarr's and the Prince of Condé's Household should come out. Cossens, Captain of the King's Guards, who guarded the Admiral's House, was charged to surround it on all sides, and to lodge some Harquebusiers from place to place, that no body could escape.

Every thing being ready, the Duke of Guise sent for Marcel, formerly Provost of the Merchants, and commanded him to give proper Orders, that the Captains and Tithing-Men should meet together in the Guildhall at Midnight, that they might receive the King's Commands. Which being done accordingly, the new Provost, President Charron by name, acquainted them with the King's Resolution, to exterminate all those Seditious, who had risen in Arms against him in the late Years: that it was a very convenient Time, because their Princes and chief Leaders were as it were shut up in the City-Walls, and that it was with them that they should begin the

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Work that Night. As to the other, the King would send Orders throughout the Provinces to have them murdered after the same way: that the striking of the Palace-Clock was the Signal, and that the distinguishing Mark amongst themselves, was a white Linnen tied to their left Arm, and a white Cross to their Hat: as to the rest, they ought to be well armed, to have good Courage, and to put Candles and Links in their Windows before the Signal should be given, for avoiding Confusion.

That was enough for inciting Men who desired no better than to have such an Opportunity for gratifying either their bloody Zeal, or their Covetousness, or any other Passion. They took up Arms immediately, and they were set in the Cross Streets, with as little noise as possible, while the Duke of Guise and the Chevalier d'Angouleme made all the haste they could to assemble as many Men armed as they could, and to lodge them in different Places of the City.

At the beginning of the Night, the Queen-Mother came to the King's Apartment with the Duke of Anjou, who sent immediately for the Duke of Guise; the Duke of Nevers, the Marshal of Tavares, and the Count of Retz, were present. After several Debates about the means of executing their Plot, the Conclusion was, that they must begin the Work without any further delay; the Dukes of Guise and Aumale, and the Chevalier of Angouleme were confirmed in the most honourable Charge of Chief Butchers, and they being attended by Cossens and Goas, with many Harquebusiers of the King's Guards, went near to the Admiral's House, to be ready when the Signal should be given.

Very happily for the Count of Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres, and several other Lords
and

and Gentlemen, the King would not give leave to the Duke of Nevers to go with a Party to the Suburb of St. Germain, where they lodged; for HIS MOST AUGUST AND COURAGIOUS MAJESTY (as it happens to all Cowards whenever they are upon perpetrating some base Deed) was not secure in his *Louvre*, tho' surrounded with ten thousand Men that guarded him, and sixty thousand Men of the Militia, that were in Arms in the City; he was still afraid lest the Admiral, desperately wounded, and in his Bed, should put himself at the head of about twelve or thirteen thousand Men, unarmed, Women and Children.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Pius V.

That secret Council lasted for above an Hour; and tho' the time appointed was very near, nevertheless Catharine was very impatient, fearing lest Charles, considering the Heinousness of such Deeds, should alter his Mind, or at least some part of their detestable Scheme, she was willing to begin without any farther delay; and upon some Commotions that happened between the Guards and some Gentlemen that inquired about the occasion of so many Links and armed Men in the Streets, at an unusual Hour, she told Charles, that it was no longer possible to refrain the Fury of the Soldiery, and ordered to ring the Bell of *St. Germain L'Auxerrois's Church*.

The Admiral being now certain of the Tumult, and hearing the Clashing of Arms, was not affrighted, tho' he had no body else with him than those above named, still trusting upon the King's Promises. Besides that, he thought if the *Parisians* knew once that the King disallowed them, they would sit still and quiet when they should see Cossens and his Company. He called too to his mind the many repeated Oaths of the King, of his Mother, and of the Duke of Anjou, the Alliance made of late with the Queen of England,

Massacre of the Admiral.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. the Treaties made with the Prince of Orange, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, and several other things of the same Nature, which seemed to him to be so many Iron Bars, but served only to deceive himself, being for Charles, not even so strong as a bit of Straw.

Cosseins then, to whom the Guard of the Admiral's House had been committed, perceiving the Duke of Guise, and the Chevalier of Angoulême, coming to him, after he had disposed his Men, in order that no body could escape, knocked at the Gate, between two and three in the Morning of the 24th day of August, which was Bartholomew's Day. Labonne came to the Gate, and having opened it, was stabbed by Cosseins, the second Door going up the Stairs was broken open, and one of the Switzers slain with an Harquebuss Shot. While Cosseins was jumbling at that Door, Cornaton ran up, and being ask'd by the Admiral, (who had caused his Servants to lift him out of his Bed, and in his Night-gown, had assisted his Chaplain's fervent Prayer, and humbly commended his Soul to the Mercy of God) what meant that great Noise? My Lord, says he, it is God that calls for us; the House has been forc'd, and there is no means of resisting. To which the Admiral answered, Long ago I have prepared myself to die; as to you all, save yourselves the best you can; for you cannot save my Life, I do commend my Soul to God's Mercy. He was not at all frightened. Presently all of them, NICHOLAS MUSS, one of his faithful Servants, excepted, (*he was his Interpreter for the German Tongue*) got up into the top of the House; but most of them were slain in the next House, Cornaton, Merlin, and two or three others, were providentially preserv'd. Cosseins being come up

up to the Admiral's Apartment, broke open the Door, and entered with one BESME, a Servant to the Duke of Guise, ATTIN, belonging to the Duke of Aumale, Sarlaboux, and some others, being all armed, and with their Targets. Besme asked the Admiral, whether he was not such a one? *I am*, says he with a sure Countenance, and this the Murderers themselves have own'd; then looking upon him, *Young Man*, says he, *you ought to respect my grey Hairs, and my Wounds; but no matter, you shall not shorten my Life.* Then Besme, with a thousand Curses and Blasphemies, thrust his Sword into the Admiral's Breast, and redoubling the blows upon his Head, every one of the others gave his Blow in such sort, that he fell upon the Floor, and so lay gasping.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Duke of Guise and others, staying below in the Court, hearing the Blows, ask'd if they had done, and commanded the Body to be thrown out of the Window, which was presently done by Besme and Sarlaboux: the Blows he had upon the Head, and the Blood besmearing his Face, the Duke of Guise, willing to see his Features, wiped his Face with a Handkerchief, then he said, *Now I know him, it is he himself;* and therewith he gave a Kick to that venerable Face, dreadful unto all the Murderers in France, when alive. Then he went, with his Company, crying aloud about the Streets, *Courage, Fellow-soldiers, we have begun well, let us now to the rest;* the King commands, it is his Will and Pleasure.

Thereupon the Palace-Clock struck; and then a Rumour was spread about the Streets, that the Hugonots were in Arms, (*tho' they were quietly in their Beds*) and had conspired to murder the King.

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Admiral's Head having been fever'd, was presented to the King and Queen-Mother, and then imbalmed and sent to *Rome*, to the Pope and the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Mob ran into the Admiral's House, where they cut off his Hands, and his Privy-parts, and dragged the Corpse about the Streets for three Days together; they cast it into the River, then they took it out, and dragged it to the Gibbet of Montfaucon, and there hanged it by the Feet, then they kindled a Fire under it, and roasted it. It remained for two days, or thereabout, in that Condition; then the Duke of Montmorency caused it to be taken away secretly, in the Night-time, by some of his Servants, and carried to *Chantilly*, where it was put into Lime, and then the Bones were deposited in a Coffin in the Chapel, till the Year 1582, when they were brought to *Montauban*, then delivered to his Daughter, Widow of Telligny, and at that time married to the Prince of Orange, who kept them in Holland, till the Year 1608; when he was brought to *Châtillon upon Loing*, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors. Scaliger made his Epitaph, which was ingraved upon a large Copper-Plate.

So died the Admiral in the 56th Year of his Age, being born on the 16th of Feb. 1517. He was bubbled by his own Probity; not thinking, that a King of France would ever have been so base and cowardly, as to break his Oath in so proditorious a manner: But he did not consider, that Charles was indeed King of France, but not a French King, being born of a Florentine, of a Pope's Niece, and having been formed and fashioned after her own way. His Memory was odiously charged by several mercenary Scribblers; they supposed impudently; that having been

wounded,

wounded, he and his Adherents had plotted to murder the King, his Mother, his Brethren, the King of Navarr, and the Prince of Condé. The Absurdity of such a Charge was so obvious to every one, that no body would believe it, no not even those, who wanted such a Pretence for justifying the barbarous Act. Nevertheless the bloody Charles had that Charge brought before the Parliament, where the Memory of the Deceas'd was tried, condemned, and Sentence executed against his Effigy, his Memory, Children, Coat of Arms, &c. without the least Evidence; and the first President, Christophorus Thuanus, was so weak, that he consented to every thing which Charles required of him. But some contemporary Authors, such as Jam. Aug. Thuanus, Montluc, Brantome, and La Nouë, have intirely cleared his Memory of any such Plot; and few Years after, the Parliament itself, convinced of the Falshood of that Imputation, restored his Memory and his Children, and unanimously repealed whatever had been decreed against him, his Honour, his Estate, and Posterity. Brantome speaks of him as of an honest, upright Man, his Religion set aside, a great Captain, a Man of vast Experience, who would have been very serviceable to the Kingdom, had Charles but employ'd him against the common Enemies of his State and Crown; and followed the Scheme he propos'd unto him for increasing his Dominions. by the Conquest of the *Low-Countries*. „ He proposes upon that Subject the „ Example of Eudon, Duke of *Aquitain*, who „ having rebelled against Charles Martel, and „ called the Saracens to his assistance, having „ been pardoned by Charles, and his Assistance „ desired against the said Saracens, was so serviceable, that he was the chief Instrument of „ the

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII.

„ the Rout and utter Destruction of these Mis-
 „ creants in the Kingdom; and so wiped off in-
 „ tirely the Faults he had committed in calling
 „ them to his assistance. So would it have been
 „ (*so the Author goes on*) with the Admiral,
 „ had Charles improved the fair Opportunities
 „ he offered unto him, of conquering no less than
 „ Flanders and the Low-Countries. Which he
 „ would have performed, for I know it certainly
 „ as well as any Man in the world, because of the
 „ great Intelligence he had in that Country,—and
 „ so he would have made amends for his past Faults
 „ in the Civil Wars. Charles ought to have in-
 „ tirely forgiven the Admiral, or never to forgive
 „ him at all by any authentick Act; but having
 „ forgiven him, he ought to have kept his Faith
 „ to him, especially, seeing that he was ready to
 „ make amends.—Had the King known the
 „ History of that Eudon above mentioned, may
 „ be, he would have followed that example, and
 „ have opposed those fine bewrayed Counsellors,
 „ &c., So Brantome (*l*).

Montluc says, that Catharine wrote unto him, to acquaint him of the Admiral's execrable Plot against the King and all the Royal Family; then he adds, *I know very well what I thought of it then. It is a bad thing to offend one's Master. The King never forgot that the Admiral had obliged him to run away from Meaux. We lose our Senses—— and do not consider, that Kings forget sooner the Services than the Offences done unto them. But no more of this (m).*

Thuanus, the Historian, far from looking upon the Admiral as an Author of Seditions, or as having plotted against the King and the Royal Family, gives him one of the greatest Characters,

(*l*) Brant. *Eloge de Charles IX.* in *Agricola*, tom. 3. pag. 5, 6. (m) *Comment. de Montluc*, Liv. VII. fol. 618.

ters, as every one might see in perusing his History, but especially Books 51, 52, 53.

Therefore I think, that we might safely depend upon La Nouë's Testimony, who gives us the following Character of the Admiral : „ If
 „ any one, says he, has taken much trouble in
 „ the three first Civil Wars, the Admiral has
 „ taken more than any body else ; for he
 „ did bear the most heavy Part of the civil and
 „ military Affairs, with a great deal of Constancy, he behaved himself reverently towards the
 „ Princes, and modestly to his Inferiors. He
 „ has always strictly adhered to the Religion he
 „ had embraced, and a great Lover of Justice,
 „ for which he was very much esteemed and
 „ honoured by those of his Party ; far from
 „ seeking ambitiously the Command, he declined it, and never took it upon him but with
 „ great Reluctancy, and being forced by the
 „ strong Instances of the Party, who were convinced of his Prudence and great Capacity.
 „ As long as he had any Command in the Armies, he always behaved himself like a great
 „ and experienced Captain, (*this is to be understood only of what he did, when he was Master of his Resolutions, and not forced to follow the Stream*)
 „ and has never been frightened by the Danger
 „ when it was unavoidable. He shewed himself magnanimous in the greatest Adversities,
 „ and had a Mind always ready to find means
 „ for extricating himself out of the greatest Difficulties. In a word, he was a Man fit for to
 „ restore and reform a State weakened and corrupted.,, Such is the Testimony of a Man,
 „ who, for his great Wisdom and Integrity, was equally loved and respected by Friends and Enemies, by the Churches, and by the Court, by Beza, and by Catherine of Medicis. Therefore
 „ that

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

Charles XI. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. that single Testimony which he gives of a Man, with whom he was so perfectly acquainted, and intimately united, deserves better Credit than a thousand others of one D'Avila, or Papyrius Masso, Pibrac, Pasquier, Basin, and others like them, who, for lucre-sake, will turn black into white, and white into black (*n*). For compleating the Character of that inestimable Man, of blessed and immortal Memory, I shall insert here two further Demonstrations of his unfeigned Zeal for the King, and the Kingdom's Welfare.

The Plunder of his House was given to the Soldiers and the Mob ; his Papers excepted. By Catherine's Orders, and Morvillier's Diligence, they were all seized, and strictly searched and examined, in hopes to find something in them, that might serve their turn, and justify the wicked and barbarous Act perpetrated against him. Amongst his Memoirs, which he kept very exact, writing down every day whatever passed, and which were destroyed by Charles's Mother's Orders, an Article was found, that he had advised the King to settle a certain Appanage upon his Brethren, and not suffer them to have so great Authority amongst the People ; that Article being read on purpose before the Duke of Alençon, who regretted the Admiral's loss, *There is, says his Mother Catherine, the Counsels, which the Man so much beloved by you, and who feigned to love you, and be your Friend, gave to the King.* To which the Duke replied, *I do not know how far he loved me ; but this I know for certain, that such a Counsel could not proceed but from a Man faithful to the King, and zealous for the Increase of his Glory and Prosperity.* Walsingham, the English Ambassador, gave almost the same Answer to that Catherine. Amongst the

(*n*) La Nouë Discours polit. & milit. p. 1008—9.

the Admiral's loose Papers, one was found, wherein, amongst the Arguments he made use of in his Discourse, for proving the necessity of the War against *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, which he had delivered to the King, this which had been omitted was set down in writing, in order to impart it to the King in secret, viz. That if the King declined the Conditions, tendered to him by the Inhabitants of these Countries, they would make their Address to the Queen of England, who would accept of them; and that it would happen, that tho' they were Friends now, becoming so near Neighbours of France, if they did set once their foot into the *Low-Countries*, they would become their mortal Enemies, and renew their ancient Pretension and Jealousy upon and against the Crown. That Article having been read before the English Embassador; and Catherine saying unto him, *See what Regard the Admiral had for the Queen your Mistress, tho' she had loaded him with so many Marks of Friendship*: Walsingham answered, *I do not know how the Admiral stood affected towards the Queen my Mistress; but this I know certainly, that such an Advice cannot proceed but from a Man faithful to the King, and extremely zealous for the Honour and Welfare of his own Country, and who deserves to be bewailed, his Death being the greatest Loss that the Kingdom could possibly sustain.* And so was CATHERINE put to shame (o),

Immediately after the Admiral's Murder, Taligny, who endeavour'd to fly upon the top of the House, was slain with an Arquebuz shot; the Count of La Rochefoucault, whom Charles had a mind to save, was stabb'd in his own Apartment; the Marquis of Renel, Guerchy, Pluviaut, Beau-

Charles IX.

1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

(o) Thuan. lib. 52, at the End. D'Aubigné. Tom. II. liv 1.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII.
 Beaudisner, Brother to the Count of Crusol, Lavardin, Briou, Governour of the Marques of Conty, De Quellenec, Baron of Pont in *Britany*, Nompar de Caumont de la Force, and his eldest Son, Loviers, Montamar, Montalbert de Rouvray, Le Vasseur de Coignéé, La Roche, Colombier, Valavoyre, De Francour, Chancellor of *Navarr*, Groslot, Bailiff of *Orleans*, Garrault Calliste, Des Prunes, Denis Perrot; besides all those, whom the King of *Navarr*, at Charles's instigation, had persuaded to lodge in the *Louvre*, and who were brought down into the Court-yard, and then led out Sword in hand, some of whom were slain in the Porch, and the rest just out of the Palace; amongst whom were Pardaillan, St. Martin de Bourse, and the brave and gallant Piles, who had withstood for so many Weeks the King's Army at the Siege of *St. John of Angely*, as above said.

I cannot, without being too tedious, relate the Names of above ten thousand Persons of all Ranks, Sex, and Age, that were destroyed in different manners, more cruel one than another, only in the City of *Paris*, in a Fortnight's time or thereabout. My Pen falls from my Hand, my Heart achs, my Soul is full of Horror, my Spirits are quite confounded, when I think of the Abominations of those dreadful Days. — How could I keep to any Order in my Narration, amidst the Curses and Blasphemies of those Sons of Belial? Alas! who can comprehend the Fears, Terrors, Anguish, Bitterness and Perplexity, which seized upon the poor Reformed, finding themselves so suddenly surprized without Remedy, and involved in all kind of outward Miseries, which could possibly, by Man, be inflicted upon human Creatures? What Sighs, and

and Groans, Trembling and Astonishment; what Shrieks, Cries, and bitter Lamentations of Wives, Husbands, Children, Servants and Friends, howling and weeping, finding themselves without all hope of Deliverance from their present Miseries! How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors, who compassed them in on every side, without any Bowels of Compassion, or the least Commiseration or Pity! Yea, they boasted of their Cruelties. I must beg to be excused from entering into the Particulars of the Barbarities; and that the Reader would be contented with some general Observations upon the whole.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

I°. If we look for the first Cause of that dreadful Calamity, which beset at first the Reformed Churches of France, and affected afterwards the whole Kingdom, certainly it was God justly provoked by the enormous Sins of the whole Nation. Let us hear Thuanus concerning the Catholics: That Fury, says he, (Book LIII. at the beginning) that Fury and Blindness of Mind of the French was sent by God, because of their frequent Blasphemies against his most holy Name, to which the King himself was addicted, having received but a very bad Education of his Mother, and of his Tutors chose by herself, the Example of the Court influenced whole Cities, and from them spread itself into the Villages, and among the Peasants, so far, that they could scarce utter three words together, but the third was a Curse against God's Head, Death, Blood and Belly. God's Patience was likewise worn out, by the Licentiousness of their Lives, their Whoredoms, Adulteries and something worse — infomuch, that the French Land could not bear any longer with their Iniquities. For, whatever was alledged against the

Some general Observations upon that Massacre.

Charles XI. 1572
 Pope Gregory XIII. Admiral, was such stuff, so ill-contrived, that even Children themselves could not think that there was any truth in it; how much less could it be evinced to convince any Man in his right Senses? &c. So Thuanus. But on the other hand, let us say, that God was no less provoked by the Sins of our own Forefathers, *Who knowing the Judgment of God, that they who commit such things (as the Court and Courtiers committed) are worthy of death, not only did the same, but had pleasure in those that did them.*

Rom. i 32.

We have seen the Queen of Navarr's Complaints in her Letter to her Son; let us hear now one of our Historians of those very days (a). Having spoke before of the great Corruption of the Court, he adds, „ The Reformed came so „ near the Infection, that they could not miss „ to be Partakers thereof. *Furthermore*, they „ were very far from being unanimous, as to „ the Preservation of their Discipline, as they „ ought to have been. In the Year 1571, certain fluttering Spirits had attempted to alter, or even to subvert it. They had been repressed by the national Synod held at *Rochelle*; but having been encouraged, they attempted again the same thing, with a greater Audaciousness, in the Months of February and March 1572, and nothing better could be expected, but a greater Division in the Churches. But God Almighty was preparing Scourges for them.—The Licentiousness of many was such, that no other difference was to be found between the Reformed and the Catholicks in several Provinces, only that the first went not to Mass; and the others went not to hear a Minister's Sermon. In all other respects, Wantonness, Pride, Luxury, and all other „ Vices,

(a) Mem. del'Etat de France sous Charles IX. Tom. 1. p. 216.

„ Vices, were as rife amongst the Reformed, as Charles IX.
„ amongst the Catholicks.,,

Whoever shall consider this dreadful Calamity with a sedate Mind, will find in it some particular Marks of God's Vengeance against his People. For very often he punishes their Sins in their Chiefs, and for that end he sent unto them, as it were, a Spirit of Delusion, that they might not believe the Truth, and that they might give credit to a Lye. And indeed who can believe otherwise? when he considers, that notwithstanding all the threatning of their Enemies, their Preparations made before their very Eyes for their utter Destruction, their Stupidity was such, *that hearing, they heard, and did not understand, and seeing, they saw, and did not perceive.* 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. Act. xxviii. 26. Therefore we cannot admit of any other first Cause of that sad Event, but God; and God provoked by the Sins of our Forefathers, which however can by no means apologize for *Assur the Rod of the Anger, and the Staff of the Indignation of the Lord.* Isaiab x.

II. Another thing to be observed is the Time and Place, when and where that abominable Plot was contrived, and the Persons concerned in it. As to the Time, it is certain that the Design of destroying the Reformed in France and the Low Countries, was laid in June 1565, in the Conference held at *Bayonne* between CATHARINE and ALVA; but as to the manner of executing it, nothing was settled, only she endeavoured to ensnare the Princes and the great Lords of that Party, according to the Directions of Alva, who had told her, *That it was needless to lose time in catching the little Frogs, as long as the Salmon and other great Fishes were suffered to live.*

Accordingly, we have seen her leaving no Stone unturned for surprizing the Prince of

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. the Admiral and other Lords; and having miscarried in the Attempt, either because she was prevented, or because every thing was not ready for the Execution, as at *Moulins* in 1566, at last she resolved upon that foul Device of the Marriage of her Daughter with the King of Navarr, which succeeded too well to her own wishes. Whoever shall consider the whole Conduct of Catherine, since that Conference, to the time of the Execution of her Plot, will easily be convinced, that she had always that Object in view, and that the Delay proceeded not from want of a settled Resolution, but from want of a proper Opportunity to put it in execution.

We have already said, that it was at *Bayonne* that the Plot was laid at first in 1565: as to the Method, it was altered several times; at first it had been resolved at *Bayonne*, to murder the Chiefs of the Reformed in the Assembly of the *NOTABLES*, that were to be convened at *Moulins* in the beginning of the Year 1566; and then they thought that the Chiefs being undone, it would be an easy matter either to oblige the Reformed to recant, or to destroy them; but that Scheme was not executed for the Reasons above-said. Then they made a pretence of Alva's Passage through the *Frontiers*, in his way to the *Low-Countries*, for raising six thousand Switzers, and bringing them, without any occasion, into the very Heart of the Kingdom, and of making several other Preparations, in order to fall upon the Reformed unawares; but by the Admiral's, and especially D'Andelot's Vigilance, they were prevented, and this occasioned the second Civil War in 1567. After the second Peace, they plotted to surprize the Prince and the Admiral at *Noyers*, and the other Lords in the respective Places of their Abode; the Plot was so well contrived,

trived, and Catharine so sure of the Success thereof, that she had already, as it were, prepared a Prison for the Prince, and a Scaffold for the Admiral, when both escaped providentially at the very nick of time, when their Enemies had their hands lifted up over their Necks in 1568. Then when she saw herself disappointed, and that she had not been able to compass her ends, neither by open force, nor by bribing Murderers or Poisoners, as long as the Admiral stood upon his guard, she alter'd her course, and by a fraudulent Treaty, attended with an unexpected Proposition of Marriage, she questioned not but that she should over-reach and trap them; when she had catch'd them, she consider'd with her secret Council at *Blois* in 1571, what Method she ought to follow for undoing them. *Birague* contrived one, which was agreed upon, viz. to build a wooden Tower next the *Louvre* as above-mention'd; but that Scheme was again altered, either because the Duke of *Anjou* discovered it to *Lignerolles*, or because the Admiral being fallen sick at that time, the Conspirators thought that being too weak, he would not venture upon so hard an Exercise, or that being too wise, he would suspect some Snake in the Grass; therefore it was resolved at *St. Cloud* to murder the Admiral, not questioning, but that the Lords, Gentlemen, and other Reformed, would fall upon the House of *Guise* and their Adherents, for revenging his Death, whereby they would afford some pretence or other for destroying them; and *Maurevel* was pitched upon for the Execution. But having missed his aim, the Admiral being only wounded, and the Reformed not stirring, the secret Council resolved then upon the Method, which was followed. So, after having thoroughly examined whatever

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. the Historians have said concerning that bloody Tragedy, I find, that tho' it had been resolved upon seven Years before, yet the Method was settled only about thirty hours before the Execution.

As to the Persons concerned in the Plot, there is some Diversity of opinion among the Historians. Thuanus, for instance, supposes, that Charles had no notice of it, but few hours before the Execution: but the Majority of Votes is against him; and indeed I must own, that his Arguments are very weak. He pretends that Charles was too young to be capable of so great a Dissimulation, as that which was required on that occasion. But let it be said, with Reverence due to that noble Historian, it seems to me, that he was not in earnest when he spoke so, nor indeed could he be ignorant of the School wherein, and under what Masters, and in what Principles, Charles had been trained up. It is true, that the Violence of his Temper seemed not to allow him to be so long a Dissembler and an Hypocrite; but that very Violence of his Temper, which prompted him to revenge upon the spot, the Affronts which he thought had been put upon him, at least never to forgive them, obliged him also to conceal his real Sentiments, as long as it was requisite, when he thought that by that Dissemblance and Hypocrisy, he should at last obtain his ends, and be fully revenged upon those whom he took to be his Enemies. But for all that, I do not think, that Charles was acquainted with the Plot, so soon as many Historians, Catholicks and Reformed, will have it; nor that, when he was made privy to it by his Mother, she told him all the Particulars of it.

Therefore

Therefore I take this for certain, that he became acquainted with the Plot, only after his Marriage with Elizabeth of *Austria*; and that his Mother told him but part of it; and conceal'd the rest; whereupon he readily consented to the intended Marriage of his Sister with the Prince of Navarr, for which he had shewn some Reluctancy at first.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Murder of Lignerolles perpetrated some Months after at Blois, by Charles's Command, is another Argument of that Prince's Knowledge of a Plot, at least against the Princes, the Admiral, and other Heads of the Reformed Party, long before the Massacre. I know that some Historians of great name, especially Thuanus, for invalidating this Evidence, ascribe this Anger of Charles against Lignerolles to another Cause, than that which other Historians, contemporary to that Event, do ascribe it. But there is none that goes so far as Father Daniel does, who pretends, that this Murder was perpetrated long after the Massacre. How so? because, says he, that was done when the Duke of Anjou was King of Poland, and quotes for his Voucher the Duke of Alençon's Declaration, when he was arrested Prisoner in 1574. But he hath miserably wrested that Passage; besides that he hath not observed, that in that Declaration the Duke of Alençon never styles his Brother Duke of Anjou, but always King of Poland; tho' he speaks of things passed above three Years before he came to that Crown. 2. That he speaks of a thing happened at Blois, while he was in that City; for he says, *at that very time*, and Daniel ought to know, that the Court never went to Blois, after the Massacre, during Charles's Life. 3. That the Duke of Alençon does not explain what were these ill Offices Lignerolles

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. complained of as done him, near the Duke of Anjou his Master, and consequently he could infer nothing from that Declaration for invalidating the Relation of D'Avila, and so many others. I find in an Historian contemporary, that Lignerolles having been refused the Lieutenancy in the Duke of Anjou's Guards, which he expected, - threatned to discover what he knew concerning the Plot. That feigning to be sick, he kept to his Bed, that Catharine came to visit him, in order to engage him not to divulge the Secret, and promised him very fine things. That she having imparted that Affair unto her secret Council, it was resolved to put him to death, lest he should execute his Threatnings. That the Charge was given to Villequier, Viscount of La Guerche, by Charles's Orders, which the said Viscount executed, when Charles was gone to *Bourgueil* in *Anjou*, upon a Hunting-match (o). Other Historians relate that Event in the same manner as D'Avila, and after him Agricola have done; but in general most part of the Historians of those Days agree, that Lignerolles was killed by Charles's Orders, because he had revealed a Secret concerning the Plot, which had been imparted to him by the Duke of Anjou his Master.

However, since Charles himself owned in his Parliament of Paris, that he had designed long ago to undo the Enemies of his Crown and State, and had endeavoured to bring them into that Precipice wherein they were fallen, since he was so well pleased with the Compliment paid unto him by the first President, on account of his

(o) Mem. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX. fol. 62—65. See D'Avila, Tom. I. Liv. V. pag. 260—61. Le Laboureur Addit. aux Mem. de Casteln. Vol. 2. Liv. VI. pag. 357. & Tom. I. Liv. III. ch. 9. p. 775—6. Daniel. Hist. de France, sous Charles IX. pag. 975—6.

his great Ability in dissembling; why should we belye him? Charles IX.

But we must observe, that tho' there were three several secret Councils, viz. that of Guise, composed of Catharine, the Dukes of Anjou and Guise, of Nevers and Aumale, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Count of Retz, the Marshal of Tavannes, Birague, Chiverny, and some others; Charles's secret Council, wherein he was assisted by his Mother, his Brother of Anjou, the Count of Retz and Birague; and Catharine's Council, which was the most secret, wherein was admitted only the Count of Retz her most trusty Confident, and sometimes Birague made a third, but not always; and tho' the Heads of these three Councils proposed to themselves very different Views, as observed already, nevertheless they agreed in the means of obtaining them, viz. the Destruction of the Admiral, and of the Chief of the Reformed Party.

III. If Charles had discovered at first some Reluctancy against so barbarous a Deed, he made afterwards ample amends for it, he carried his Fury further than any Tyrant before; he took a Carabine and fired out of his Window at the poor Wretches who endeavoured to save themselves by crossing the River: The Remnant of the Admiral's Corps having been hang'd at Montfaucon, Charles went to see it, with several of his Courtiers; who being offended with the Stench, shut close their Noses and Mouths with their Handkerchiefs, which being perceived by Charles, he rebuked them for it, and told them, *That there was no better pleasing Smell, than the Stench of a dead Enemy.* A Sentence indeed, worthy of Charles! Messieurs Cavagnes and Briquemaut, the first a Counsellor of the Parliament of Thoulouse, and who had been gratified by Charles with a Place of *Charles's exceeding Baseness and Cruelty.*

Master

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. Master of the Requests, and the second was an old reputable Nobleman of about 70 Years of age, and a brave experienced Officer, were condemned, for the pretended Conspiracy, and for refusing (tho' miserably tortured) to charge the Admiral with being guilty thereof. They were drawn in Hurdles to the Place of Execution, and having by the way endured, with admirable Patience, the Reproaches and Dirt cast on them by the Rabble, they were hanged (together with the noble Admiral's Effigy) by Candle-light, having asserted both his Innocence and their own, to their last Breath. After this unjust Execution, their Bodies were barbarously mangled by the accursed Multitude; and Charles (who delighted in such bloody Spectacles) did not only behold it himself, with his Mother, and their whole Court, but forced the King of Navarr and the Prince to be present at it.

The Ladies of the Court, following the Example of Catharine their Mistress, shewed what great regard they had for Modesty and Humanity, when they came down to look upon the Corps of the Lords and Gentlemen that had been slain, and which were put stark naked in a File before the Palace, upon the Pavement, and especially, they sat upon the Body of the Lord of Soubize, to search whether they could find out any mark of Impotency in it, because he was at Law with his Lady upon that account. Lady LA CHASTEGNERAYE was so inhuman, that she granted leave to l'Archan who courted her, to cause her own Father-in-law Nompars Caumont de la Force, and her two Half-Brothers to be murdered, the youngest whereof having providentially escaped, as I shall say presently, she went herself to the Arsenal, where she knew he had been received by Gontault de Biron, Great-Master of the Artillery, and

and desired that Lord to put her Brother into her hands, that she might dress his Wounds and take care of him; but Biron, who knew what care she had taken of her Father and Brother, told her, *that indeed he would be very glad to find out the young Caumont's Sister to trust him in her hands, but not his Heiress, who took too great care of him yesterday Morning*: and so he sent her away with Scorn. Another Maid of Honour, De Royan by Name, understanding that one of her own Relations, and another Gentleman Reformed, with whom she had been in love of late, were concealed in her own House, she rode thither in a Man's Dress, bringing some Murderers along with her, and delivered these unfortunate Gentlemen into their hands, without any Pity; then she came back to the *Louvre*, and boasted of it before her Mistress Catharine.

Charles IX

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

IV. No wonder if Charles having violated his Promises and most sacred Engagements with his Subjects in so base and treacherous a manner, was not more faithful to his Brother-in-law and Cousin, the King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé. He sent for them to his Closet the very Morning of St. Bartholomew's Day, and after many Reproaches, Oaths and Blasphemies, he told them, that they must turn Roman-Catholics, or they should be served as their Fellow-Hereticks. Whereupon the King of Navarr, in a great surprize, most humbly besought the King to remember his Promises, and the Alliance lately contracted; that as for himself, he would do every thing to satisfy his Majesty, tho' it would be a very hard task for him to renounce a Religion wherein he had been trained up from his Childhood. But the Prince of Condé shewed a greater Resolution and Magnanimity: He told Charles, *that he had engaged his Faith with him and the*

His Breach of Faith to the Princesses.

Fol-

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII.

Followers of the same Religion in his Dominions, in so solemn a manner, that he could not believe that he would break his Oaths. As to the Obedience he required of him, he had before, and would be always ready to pay it. But as to his Religion, God alone was him to whom he was obliged to account for it; that his Life, Goods, and Estate were in the King's power, to do with them according to his Will, but that he would persevere in his Religion, to the peril of his Life.

Charles grew furious at that Answer, he called the Prince a *Rebel, a seditious Son of a Seditious*, and threatned him to have him beheaded, if he did not comply in three days time. A few days after, Charles sent for the Captains of his Guards, and for his own Armour, to go himself and make an end of what had escaped the hands of the Murderers, beginning with the Prince of Condé. But Queen Elizabeth his Consort, one of the best Princesses in the world, came and fell down upon her Knees before him, and hindered him by her Intreaties, from executing his barbarous Design. On the next day, he sent for the Prince of Condé, and bid him chuse one of these three things, MASS, DEATH, or the BASTILE. *God forbid*, says the Prince, *my King and my Liege Lord, that I should chuse the first; as to the two others, I am at your own Disposal and Will, which may God Almighty be pleased in his Mercy to mollify.* Charles was moved with that Answer, and sent him away.

But it happened at this time that HUGH SORREL DES ROSIERS, Minister of Orleans, having been arrested, as he endeavoured to make his escape out of the Kingdom, and being struck by the Terrours of Death, turned Roman Catholick, (*outwardly only, for a few Months after, having met with a favourable Opportunity of quitting the Kingdom, he*

went

went to Heidelberg, where he did publick Penance for his Apostacy, and was restored to the Communion of the Church, tho' not to the Ministry). Charles sent for him to Court, and made use of him as a Tool for perverting the King of Navarr, his Sister Catharine of Navarr, the Prince of Condé and the Princess Mary of Cleves his Consort, and the Princess Dowager of Condé. They feigned all to be convinced, rather out of Fear, than out of any thing else; the Prince of Condé only declared that he was not satisfied at all with Des Rosiers's Arguments, and desired to have a private Conference with him; which being granted, *Is it so*, says the Prince unto him, *as you say in Publick? Do you speak out of Fear, or out of Conviction?* Whereto Des Rosiers answered, *That it was his Opinion, and he was convinced that he was in the Right.* Then, says the Prince, *if it had been so, as I have been taught from my Childhood in your School, I would have asserted the Truth at the Peril of my Life; but if I have been deceived, and my Opinions are wrong, forsaking Error, I must yield to Truth when it is found out.*

From that day the Prince of Condé wavered, and at last, overcome by the fright of a perpetual Prison, (for an Apartment in the *Bastile* had been prepared for him by Charles's Orders) he yielded to whatever was required of him. He and his Cousin the King of Navarr, and the Princesses of Bearn and Condé, made their publick Recantation, and heard Mass, the Cardinal of Bourbon officiating; they wrote to the Pope, who granted to them Absolution. The King of Navarr, by Charles's Orders, sent a Decree into *Bearn* and to his other Dominions, whereby he forbade the Profession of any other Religion besides the Catholick, but very little Regard was paid to it, as coming from a Captive Prince.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. *Charles charges the Guises with the Massacre.*

V. The very same day of the Massacre, Charles, out of a deep Policy, or, knowing not as yet what course to take to avoid the Heinousness of it, wrote to the Governours of the Provinces and of the chief Cities, and to his Embassadors in *England, Germany, and Switzerland*, to notify unto them what had happened in *Paris*, and to his Cousin the Admiral; and pretended that these things had been perpetrated without his previous Knowledge and Consent, by the Guises and their Faction, who had raised a Commotion amongst the People. Catharine wrote unto the same, to the same purport, in order to render the House of Guise odious to all the Nations of Europe. Nevertheless, the same Hand that subscrib'd those Letters, was all the while firing at the poor innocent People; this I say as to Charles.

The Guises prevail against him, and he owns the Fact in Parliament.

VI. The Guises guessing at what Charles and Catharine aimed at, opposed their Design with all their Might, and were so well served in the secret Council, even by Catharine herself, that Charles was at last prevailed upon to own the Fact, and to take the whole upon him. Therefore, on Tuesday the 26th of August, after having caused the *Te Deum* to be sung, for Thanksgiving unto God for that glorious Exploit, he went to the Parliament, attended with his Mother, his Brethren, and the Princes of the Blood, and there declared, *that whatever had been done at Paris, had been done not only with his Consent, but likewise by special Command, and of his own Accord.* He charged the Admiral with a Conspiracy to murder him, his Mother, his Brothers, and the King of Navarr, and to set the young Prince of Condé upon the Throne, whom he had likewise resolved to destroy afterwards, and to usurp the Crown for himself. Therefore he had thought proper, being not able to do other-

wic,

wife, to cure a Plague by another, that he might root that Corruption out of the very Bowels of his Kingdom.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

He was answered by the first President Christopher Thuanus, who serving to the Times, was so weak as to extol with great Encomiums the King's Prudence, who had dissembled so many Injuries, and prevented the threatenng Danger he was in, and so restored again the Peace to his Kingdom; running upon that Topick of Lewis XI, *QUI NESCIIT DISSIMULARE, NESCIIT REGNARE: Who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.* He was much unlike, in this respect, to the first President, JOHN DE LA VAQUERIE, under Lewis XI. That Prince, according to Bodin de Republica, Lib. III. ch. IV. having commanded his Parliament, on pain of Death, to register all his Edicts without any controul, La Vaquerie went to the King, attended by all the Members of that august Body in their Formalities, *non ut culpam deprecaretur, sed ut mortem precaretur*, saying that he and his Collegues chose to die, rather than to register an Edict so unjust as that proposed to them. Whereby Lewis XI was appeased, and cancelled himself his Edict. Far from following that Example, Thuanus agreeing against his Conscience with Morvilliers, formerly Bishop of Orleans, to arraign the Memory of the Admiral, and having found him guilty upon the Evidence of suborned Witnesses, the above named Sentence was passed, and executed against him, his Memory, Posterity, &c.

Two days after, Charles issued out a Proclamation, whereby, pretending always that a Conspiracy against his Person, the Royal Family, and his Government, having been discovered just at the time when it was upon the point of being executed, he had thought proper to prevent the evil

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

evil Designs of the Admiral and his Complices, and that whatever had been done, was by his special Command, not out of Hatred against the Reformed Religion, nor out of a desire of breaking his former Edict, which, on the contrary, he commanded to be strictly observed, but out of a Principle of Justice against the Disturbers of the publick Peace, and that he willed that all his Subjects should live peaceably, and in full Security in their own Houses, without being injured either in their Life, Goods, or Estate, and that it will be death for whosoever should offend them in any of these Points: adding however this particular Clause, that, for good Reasons, the Reformed ought to abstain from any Meeting, either publick or private, upon what account soever, till the King had ordered otherwise; and it would be Death and Forfeiture of their Goods, for whomsoever should offend against that Decree. But this was only a Device to ensnare the Reformed, and too many, that were too credulous, felt the sad Effects of it. For

Charles
sent Orders
for the
Massacres
in the Pro-
vinces.

VII. Charles sent secret Orders to all his Governours and Lieutenants, throughout all the Provinces and chief Cities of the Kingdom, enjoining them to follow the Example of Paris. These Orders were more or less obeyed, according to the Temper of the Governours, and the Party which they followed, for the Montmorencians refused to obey, pretending that these Orders were fictitious, being quite contrary to those they had received from Court, two or three days before; so, the Count of Tendes in *Provence*, Gordes in *Dauphiné*, St. Eran in *Auvergne*, tho' they were Roman Catholicks, and had been very severe to the Reformed during the Wars, feigned to believe these Orders to be supposititious, and refused to execute them. Some refused their
Sub-

Submission out of a Principle of Honour; such was the Viscount of Ortez Governour of Bayonne and of the *Frontiers of Spain*, tho' he was extremely violent against the Reformed in all other respects, nevertheless he sent this Answer to the King's Letters.

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

SIR, *I have imparted your Majesty's Commands unto his faithful Inhabitants of this City, and the Soldiers of the Garrison. I have found none amongst them but what are good Citizens and brave Soldiers, but not one Executioner or Hangman. Therefore they and I most humbly beseech your Majesty, to make use of our Lives and Arms in any thing else possible, how dangerous soever it be, as being, as long as they shall last, SIR, yours, &c.*

He and the Count of Tendes were very soon after dispatched by Poison, as it was rumoured. Count of Charni Deputy-Governour of *Burgundy*, either out of Compassion, or by an Effect of the refined Policy of the House of Guise, preserved the Reformed of his Government, for only a single Gentleman was killed at *Dijon*, and at *Mascon* the Prisons were a sure Refuge for them, where they remained unmolested, till the Letters Patent were sent all over the Kingdom, whereby the King declared, that he took his Reformed Subjects under his Protection, and whosoever should take up Arms, or use any Violence against them, should be prosecuted with the utmost Severity. But these Letters had their Effects only two Months or thereabout, after the beginning of the Massacre.

In some other Places, tho' the Governours and the Chief Magistrates were well intentioned, nevertheless, being overpower'd by the Factious and the Rabble, they were forced to yield to their Fury. It was the Case of *Rouen*, tho' Carrouge

Charles XI. Governour thereof, and the Parliament, endeavoured to refrain the Seditious, they were forced at last to yield to their Madnes, and above 700 Reformed, of all Ages; Sex and Condition, were unmercifully murdered. The same happened at *Bourdeaux*, where all the Endeavours of Montferrant Governour thereof, of the Attorney-General, and the first Jurate, (or *Alderman*) proved ineffectual; for at the Instigation of the Jesuits, especially of EDMOND AUGER, who by their seditious Sermons excited the People, they were forced to yield to MONTPEZAT, and a greater number of the Reformed than at Rouën perished. The same happened at *Lyons*, where Mandelot, willing to save the Reformed Inhabitants, ordered them to retire into the Prisons of the City; some went thither of their own accord, but several of those that were led, were slain by the way. DU PERAT having brought to Mandelot the King's Order for murdering the Reformed, he was struck with the Horror of the Fact, and resolved to wait for another Command, which being brought post by D'AUXERRE, the King's Attorney, *Friend*, says Mandelot unto him; *whatever thou bindest, let it be bound*. Then the Executioner was sent for, with his Servants, but he refused to perform, saying, *That his Hands worked only according to Law*. Whereupon, the Soldiers of the Citadel were called to do the Work; but they, full of Indignation, answered, *Go and look for other Executioners than we*. So they gave that Office to three hundred Harquebusers of the Militia, who executed it with all the Inhumanity that can be imagined, without sparing either their Kindred or Neighbours; they began by the Prisons of the *Cordeliers*, then they went to that of the *Celestines*; from thence to that of the *Archbishoprick*, wherein Mandelot had shut

up three hundred of the wealthiest Citizens, thinking them to be more safe there; the Murderers bid them prepare themselves for Death, and having seized what Money they had with them, they cut the Children to pieces, and slew the rest all to one. In the Evening they came to *Rouane*, which was the Common-Goal, and wherein the greater number of the Reformed were shut up, they dragged them out, and threw them into the *Rhône*, most part being half strangled: However, they granted life to those who promised to turn Roman Catholicks. The next Night, the plunder and murder was as frightful as in any other City, wherein the Women, Maids and Children, were not spared at all. In *St. John's Place* there was such a prodigious and horrid heap of Corpses, that two Women, frightened at that sight, miscarried. The Governor endeavoured to have them buried, but it was impossible for him to overcome the ill-nature of the Monks and Priests; and the Mob, at their persuasion, dragged them into the River. Of that number were Messrs. Dalus and other rich Merchants who traded in *Asia*, and *Africa*, and who having escaped for some days, at last were stabbed. One Capt. La Mente with his Soldiers saved two out of the three Ministers, and several others. It is reckoned that the number of the Slain amounted to 800, besides those that were drowned, whose number was as great as of the Slain; the *Rhône* being full of Blood and of Corpses, occasioned heavy Complaints amongst the Inhabitants of the Towns and Cities lying on that River, down to the *Mediterranean*, that they cursed those of *Lyons*, because their Water was quite spoiled, and they durst not venture to eat River-Fish. At *Arles* especially, where there is

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. no Well or Spring, they suffered as much for want of Water as if they had been besieged, because the River was quite bloody.

If such was the Fury of the Murderers in Places where the Governors and Magistrates opposed them as much as they could, let the Reader judge what was the condition of the Reformed in those Places, the Governors and Magistrates whereof, not only connived at, but commanded, and helped the Murderers in their bloody Executions. For two Months together that dreadful Hurricane ran throughout all the Provinces of *France*, the Effects whereof were more sensibly felt at *Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Nevers, Bourges, la Charité, Poitiers, Thoulouse*, where five Counsellors of the Parliament were hanged in their Formalities in the Palace-yard, *Dacqs, Cahors, Castres*, and five hundred other Places; for it is a great deal more easy to name those that were free from that Barbarity, than those that were stained with it, since the whole Kingdom became, as it were, a *Rama, wherein was a Voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for Jacob, Jacob for Rachel, both for their Children, their Children for them, and would not be comforted, because they were not.*

Matt. 11. 18. but with some Addition.

VIII. The Number of the Slain at Paris and in the Provinces cannot be exactly told, the Historians don't agree upon that point; some say more, some less, some 100000 in the whole, as *Perefixe, Tutor to Lewis XIV. and Archbishop of Paris*; some 60000, as *Natalis Comes*, but he is not to be credited when he speaks of the Affairs of France; some 40000, as — and some 30000 only, as *Thuanus*: but really he cannot be credited in this, for since the Waters of the *Seine, Loire, Marne, and Rhône*, were actually

actually turned into Blood, for several days, there must be certainly a greater quantity spilt than what can be afforded by the Slaughter of thirty thousand Men, good part whereof were slain in places not lying upon the Banks of those Rivers. D'Avila says, that at Paris only, there were above ten thousand Persons in the two first days, amongst whom were five hundred and more Lords and Gentlemen, that answer the Description of the *Seine* turned into Blood, for the Massacre lasted six days longer. For my part, I am inclined to believe, that the number of the slain was rather greater than what the Prelate abovenamed says, than less. It is true, that that Flood of Blood carried away many Catholics, by the Sovereign's Orders, or at the Instigation of some private Men: to be rich, or possessed of some profitable Office, or to have some mortal Enemy, or some hungry Heir, was to be a Hugonot. Some called that Massacre, the *Parisian Mattins*, as the Massacre of the French in *Sicily* in 1281 had been called the *Sicilian Vespers*.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

IX. However, many escaped from that Desolation, some by the King's Will, or their Friend's Protection, or the Guise's Policy, some providentially, and the rest by flight. Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres, and several others that were lodged in the Suburb of *St. Germain*, escaped very narrowly; for hearing the Noise in the City, they thought that the King was forced in the *Lowvre*, and had already taken a Boat to come to his assistance; but as they were ferrying, they perceived a Boat full of Soldiers, who cried Murder, Murder! Whereupon they went back and took to their Horses, some without Boots, others without Saddles, and ran as fast as they could: nevertheless they would not

Those escaped from the Massacres.

Charles IX. have escaped the Danger, had it not been that the Keeper of the Gate of *Nesle* mistook one Key for another ; for the Duke of Guise being come to that Gate, the Keeper was obliged to go home for the Keys, whereby Montgomery and others had more time ; and the Duke of Guise, &c. who pursued them for twenty four Miles together, was forced to desist. Montgomery and part of his Company came over into *England*.

The Viscount of Leiran having been wounded in the *Louvre*, ran into the young Queen of Navarr's Apartment, came up into her Bedchamber, being pursued by the Archers : the Princess got up, and he with her, and took hold of her ; whereupon Nancey, Captain of the Guards, coming, he obliged the Archers to desist, and the Princess obtained Leiran's Life of the King her Brother.

Charles granted Life to Grammont, Duras, Gamaclès, and Bouchavanes, who having no Religion at all, made no scruple to adhere to the Roman Catholicks. The Marshal of Cossé was spared in behalf of the fair De Chateauneuf his Cousin, and Mistress to the Duke of Anjou ; Biron was preserved, because he took care to shut up himself in the Arsenal, and to level two Culverins against the Street. Those who could reach that Place were received and preserved, especially the young Caumont, who was providentially preserved, in his Father's Bed ; the Murderers having slain him with his eldest Son, this young Gentleman, of about eleven or twelve Years old, who lay in the same Bed with them, and had received some Wounds, feigned to be dead, and lay still by his Father, as the Blood ran abundantly upon the Floor, the Murderers took him for dead, and went away ; then came some

some other Persons, who talking together, some lamented the Fate of that noble Family, while others approved of it. The Company being gone all but one, this man continued to bewail with himself, and detested the Tragick Act, which being heard by young La Force, he told him, that he was not dead, and that if he would lead him safe to the Arsenal, he should be handsomely recompens'd for his Trouble. The Man having granted that Request, the young La Force was preserv'd, and became the head of a rich and potent Family in Guienn, the Lord of Biron having refus'd to deliver him into the hands of his Half-Sister, as above said.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Many were likewise preserv'd by the Duke of Guise's Protection, amongst whom was the Count of Crussol, who was so grateful towards his Benefactor, that to please him he turn'd Roman Catholick.

Many were preserv'd by their Flight; those of *Burgundy, Lyonnese, Dauphiné, Provence*, who took that Course, retir'd into *Switzerland* and *Geneva*; amongst whom were the Lady D'Entramont, Dowager of Chatillon, with the eldest Son of the Admiral, and Guy de Laval, eldest Son to D'Andelot; they came first to *Geneva*, and for the greater Security, they went to *Bernâ*, destitute of every thing. As to the other Children of the Admiral, Charles having sent on the second and third day of the Massacre for to seize the whole Family at Chatillon upon Loing, as the Lady Dowager, the eldest Son, and the Nephew had made their Escape, the rest were brought to Paris, and as a further addition to the Cruelty of those days, they affect'd to make them go through Montfaucon, where the Admiral's Corps was still hanging. Those of *Champaign, Isle of France*, and ad-

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

adjacent Provinces, retired into *Germany*, where they were kindly received and entertained by the Protestant Princes, especially by the Elector Palatine. Those of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Brittany* retired into *England*. And those of the middle Provinces, who had no means for escaping, yielding for the most part to the fury of the times, turned Roman Catholics; but the Storm was no sooner over, but the greatest part sincerely repenting their Fault, did Penance, and were received again into the Reformed Church. A vast number took refuge in the Country of *Cevennes*, at *Montauban*, *Sancerre*, and at *La Rochelle*; in this last City fifty Ministers, a great number of the Nobility and Gentry, and above nine hundred Soldiers which were very useful during the Siege. As to the Lady of *Telligny*, I find she retired into *Switzerland*.

Amongst those who escaped I must not omit one who was preserved by an Act of Generosity not to be expected from an Enemy: *Resnier*, a Gentleman of *Quercy*, was his Name. He had commanded in that Country under the Princes in the former Wars against *Vezins*, Deputy Governor of that Province; besides that general quarrel, there were some private ones between them, because *Vezins*, one of the most rough and cruel Men of that time, had committed many Barbarities in that Country, killing, hanging, burning whatever came in his way, even upon *Resnier's* Lands; and this Gentleman, though of a milder temper, had paid him with the same coin. The Peace being made, their common Friends had not been able to prevail upon them to come to an agreement, but they persisted in their hatred one against another. Now being both at *Paris* at this time, as *Resnier* was preparing himself for Death, which

he thought was unavoidable; Vezins came thither, Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. (who had received the King's Orders to go to Quercy, and execute there the same things which he saw executed at Paris) who having broke open the Doors, entered Sword in hand, with two Men armed; he found Resnier waiting for nothing else but Death, lying upon the Ground, imploring God's Mercy. Vezins with a frightful Voice bid him get up to follow him, and mount a Spanish Jenet, which was ready for that purpose in the Yard; so he brought Resnier out of the City, and having received his Word that he would follow him, they both continued their Rout into *Guienn*, without any stay, only for refreshing themselves, and travelled Day and Night, without speaking a Word one to another. Vezins, however, had ordered some of his Servants to go before to have some Victuals ready drest, as they came into the Inns. At last they arrived in *Quercy*, at Resnier's Castle. There Vezins turning to Resnier, spoke unto him, to the following purport: *You know how easy it had been to me to gratify my Revenge, had I had a mind to it; but my Honour did not allow me to improve that opportunity, and I have had always such a value for your great Courage, that I thought it deserving that I should try it without any advantage. Enjoy then that Life which had been preserved by my Kindness, and be persuaded that you will find me always ready to determine our Quarrels in a way agreeable to our Quality, as you have found me ready on this occasion, to avert the threatening danger whereto you was exposed.* To which Resnier answered, *My Dear Mr. Vezins, if I had any courage, strength, or ill-will against you, you have radically plucked it out of my heart by this your Kindness to me, you have intirely extinguished*

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. extinguished my enmity against you by so great Generosity, the Instance whereof shall be recorded in the Annals of the World, and remain forever fixed in my Remembrance; you having commanded me to follow, I have obeyed, though against my Will, and you have brought me here safe: Now lead me wherever you please, and I will of my own accord follow you; and be firmly persuaded that I shall be always ready to employ that Life you have preserved, and that Courage which you are pleased to praise, if there is any in me, for your Service and your own defence against any Enemy. Which said, he ran to embrace him, but Vezins, with the same sourness in his Looks, told him, *Would you be so base as to forget what Injuries you have received from me.* To which Resnier answered, *Would not that derogate from what I owe you? No, no, says Vezins, Friend or Foe, they must all be brave.* And without waiting for any further reply, spurring his Horse, away he went, leaving the Spanish Jenet worth 500 Crowns to Resnier. This last coming into his Castle, found his Lady and Daughter overwhelm'd with Sorrow, who took him for a Ghost; for some of his Servants having fled as soon as they had seen Vezins entering into his Room at Paris, had reported that they had seen their Master murdered by the former. After they were come to themselves, Resnier thought of Vezins's Spanish Horse, which he had left with him, and sent it back unto him by his Steward. But Vezins sent one of his Gentlemen with it, desiring Resnier to accept of it. We shall see hereafter the fate of both these Gentlemen.

Some Particulars relating to the Massacre.

X. I have omitted purposely several Particulars, which come better under a separate Article; such as the Names of the chief Murderers of

of Paris, TANCHOU, PEZON, CROISET, and PE-
 RIER; Croiset boasted that he had killed for
 his own Share five hundred; Pezon, a Butcher by
 Trade, having been sent for by Charles on the
 5th of September, was asked, whether there were
 some Hugonots still alive at Paris? his answer
 was, That he had drowned one hundred and
 twenty of them the Night before, and that he
 had a like number of them for the next Night's
 Sport; whereupon Charles fell a laughing heart-
 tily, and bid him not fail. Another Particu-
 lar is, that amongst that vast Number of Slain,
 only two offered to make any Resistance, viz.
 Guerchi, Standard-Bearer to the Admiral; and
 Tiverni an Attorney. This last having consumed
 his Powder and Bullets, and melted his Pewter,
 when he saw that the Murtherers had got into
 his House, he stood behind the Door at the
 lower end of the Alley that went to the Hall,
 where he had put a large piece of Timber,
 whereby the said Door opened only half-way,
 there he waited for the Murtherers, who had
 a mind to come that way and killed many; but at
 last, seeing himself overpowered by their numbers,
 and that he was no longer in a condition to
 resist, after having taken his last leave of his
 Wife, and given his blessing to his Children,
 he took his Shield with a short Sword, and came
 into the Hall amongst the Murderers, who stab-
 bed him on the spot. Another Particular was
 that of the White-thorn in the Church-yard
 of the Innocents that blossomed the Day after
 Bartholomew's Day; the Rumour of it being
 spread about the City, People of all Ranks flocked
 thither in so great numbers, that they were
 obliged to set Guards thereabouts: they began
 to cry out, a Miracle; and to ring the Bells in
 token of Joy. The Rabble excited by that, ta-
 king

Charles
IX.

1572.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. king it for a Demonstration of God's Approbation of their doings, grew more fierce than before, and fell with greater fury upon the Hugonots. But the Reformed said, that that White-thorn had blossomed upon the Ground of the Innocents murdered, not of the Murderers. One of them published the following Epigram upon that Subject;

Æterni CHRISTUS soboles æterna parentis,
 In cruce pro nobis Spinea ferta tulit,
 Quæ cum PARRYSIA CÆSORUM nuper in urbe
 Christiadam rursus sanguine sparsa forent,
 Emisere suos alieno tempore flores:
 Hinc quam fœcundus sit cruor iste, nata;
 Qui reliquis herbis rabido morientibus æstu,
 Germinat, & cœlo femina digna movet.

Florescant spinæ, caveant sibi Lilia, rarò
 Lilia sub spinis surgere læta solent.

The Catholicks and the Reformed strove to shew their wit by several small Poems, both upon the Admiral, and upon the Massacre in general; a few whercof I shall transcribe here.

These two Verses were written upon the Doors of the Admiral's House,

Qui ter Mavortem sumptis patefecerat armis,
 Tertia pax Nudum perfidiosa necat.

Several Copies of his Picture were drawn at his own Friends expence, and sent to several Protestant Princes, especially to the Elector Palatine, who had a very great value for him, and this Distich was at the bottom of it.

Talis erat quondam vultu Collignius Heros,
 Quem verè illustrem vitaque morsque facit.

The

The following Distich is Pasquier's, who makes a frigid allusion to Colligny's Name, and his being hang'd after his Death.

Charles IX.

1572.

Pope Gregory XIII.

Sic fatis placuit, nomen & omen ut effret
Igneus in vitâ, Ligneus interitu.

On Bartholomew's-day, by another Hand.

On disoit, *dangereux comme fête d'Apotres,*
Ce que les Huguenots estimoient un abus,
Mais St. Barthelemy pour luy & pour les autres
Fit le proverbe vray, donc qu'on n'en doute plus.

On the Massâces.

GALLIA Mactatrix, Lanius Rex, dira Macellum
LUTETIA; O nostri temporis opprobrium!

Unto France:

Rex puer est, Proceres scelerati, Regia fallax,
Fœdifragi Cives, urbs laniena tua est.
Crudelis, nec jura timens, ac fœdera rumpens.
Est benè de regno GALLIA Stulta tuo.

Quæ necat Innocuos violato fœdere natos

GALLIA, non mater, sed truculenta lupa est.

I might add, the providential Preservation of Merlin, Chaplain to the Admiral, who being concealed in a heap of Straw, a Hen came every day and laid an Egg in his hand; and of another of the Admiral's Servants, who fell asleep in his Concealment for several days, and did not awake till Merlin, finding an opportunity, improved it and awakened his Companion. But I can't warrant the truth of neither.

XI. Charles was very careful to send Embassadors Extraordinary every where, and to hire some mercenary Pens for making his Apology.

*How the
sad News
was receiv'd
at Foreign
reign
His Courts,*

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. His Embassadors in Ordinary were much puzzled at the new Orders they received from him, to own the Fact, seeing that two or three days before, they had declared in his own name to the Courts where they resided, that what had happened at *Paris* had been done, not only without his Consent, but even without his Knowledge, and they knew not how to recant. His Apologies met with different Success, according to the different Temper and Interest of the Princes and States who heard or read them; some approved of the Fact, others detested it, and others, either out of fear, or out of policy, seemed to be indifferent about it. In Spain, Philip II. received the news with transports of Joy; Charles had charged his Embassadors to that Prince, to tell him, that he hoped he would forgive him whatever he had done for a Year or two, which had a shew of Hostility, seeing that he had been obliged to do it, in order to conceal the better his real designs; which forgiveness was readily granted, and with great applause, and that Tragedy was represented before the King under the Title of THE TRIUMPH OF THE MILITANT CHURCH.

At Rome, the Cardinal of Lorrain received the tidings of it with so great a Satisfaction, that he presented the Messenger with a Gift of a thousand Crowns, and the Pope went in Procession with the College of Cardinals, &c. into several Churches. especially that of St. Lewis.

But the Emperor Maximilian II. Father-in-Law to Charles, received the News with the utmost concern, and detested the Fact as abominable; he wrote upon that Subject to Lazarus Schwend, which Letter is to be found in the Abridgment of Brandt's History of the Reformation

formation in the *Low Countries*, Vol. I. Book XI. Charles IX. pag. 251.

Several Protestant Princes of Germany, especially the Elector of Palatine, shewed the like detestation; and all the Rhetorick of Bellievre, French Embassador in Switzerland, nor the Libels of the base Carpenter, hindered not the *Protestant Cantons* from receiving with a sincere and cordial affection the poor distressed that took refuge amongst them.

The Rhetorick of Montluc, Bishop of *Valence*, helped with Pibrac's and Bazin's, and especially with the French Gold, was more persuasive amongst the Poles. The Reformed being at that time much more numerous and powerful in that Country than they have been since, it was to be feared, lest the Negotiations of the French Embassadors for having the Crown of Poland set upon the Duke of Anjou's Head, should miscarry; as they would for certain, had not the Electors been bribed, or had they been thoroughly informed of the truth of the matter. Therefore Valence and his Collegues seeing that they could not deny the fact, neglected nothing for making it appear an Act of Justice, and not a perfidious Act of Cruelty.

But Queen Elizabeth (I am sorry to be obliged to own a sad truth) quite forgetting herself on this occasion, not only she did not assist the distressed at *Rochelle* and *Sancerre*, as she could have done very easily, but she did indirectly approve of the fact: for though her Embassador at Paris had been affronted, and forced to deliver up the good old Briquebaut, after he had been concealed for three days in his House, where he had taken Sanctuary, though Charles had solemnly declared, that whatever had been

done

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. done at Paris, had been done by his special Command, from whence she ought to infer, that the Violence offered to her Embassador, had been offered by his orders; nevertheless, at that very time, she accepted to stand Godmother to the young Princess, Daughter to Charles, born the very same day that Briquemaut and Cavagnes were executed. Was it out of Principle of Religion that our Queen of England took such a Step? No sure, I hope that she was too good a Protestant to approve of the superstitious Ceremonies used in the Baptism of the Roman Church, and that she had no mind at all to engage herself to take care the Princess should be trained up in the Roman Communion. Was it out of Policy? I don't think it so, no good could accrue to her from it. For my part, I believe that she was frightened out of her Wits, and that being not thoroughly informed how the matter stood, knowing not what would be the end of such a dreadful Execution, she thought that her best course was to be careful not to disoblige, at that time, the common Enemy of the Protestants. But no more of this.

HUMANUM EST ERRARE.

Effects of those Cruelties upon Charles. XII. However sweet and pleasant that cruel Satisfaction was to Charles's Palate for the present, it turned into a Gall in his Stomach immediately after; the Parliament of Paris's Approbation, the Pope and the King of Spain's Applauses and big Encomiums, the Medals struck in order to perpetuate the memory of it, nothing could divert that Prince from his melancholy; he was henceforward continually tormented with the horror of a guilty Conscience; which the effusion of so much innocent Blood did justly raise in him, and was frequently heard to cry; *Alas, my poor Subjects! What had you done?*

done? *And what have I done? But I was forced to it.* He was often troubled with Visions, and the hearing of Voices in the Air. I shall single out two Instances related by D'Aubigné, Tom. II. Book I. ch. VI. he quotes for his Voucher, no less Authority than King Henry IV. and said expressly, that that Prince had told them many times, that he had been an eye-witness of the fact, and that he never related it without feeling and showing unto them his hairs bristling.

Charles
IX.

1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

„ Eight days, says he, after the Massacre,
„ came a vast quantity of Crows, some perch-
„ ing, and others croking over the great Pa-
„ villion of the Louvre; the great noise they
„ made excited every one's curiosity to see what
„ was the matter, and the Ladies imparted their
„ fright to the King. The same Night, two
„ hours after he was in bed, having started out
„ of his sleep, he jumped out of his Bed, caused
„ all the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber to do
„ the same, and sent for his Brother-in-Law
„ the King of Navarr, for hearing the dread-
„ ful noise that was in the Air, as it were, of
„ many Voices together crying, sighing, groan-
„ ing and howling, and amongst them some
„ furiously threatning, cursing and blaspheming,
„ just as in the first night of the Massacre. Their
„ tunes were so distinct and articulate, that the
„ King thinking that some new Massacre was
„ perpetrating upon the Montmorencians, sent
„ for his Guards, that they might go into the City
„ and hinder the murder; but being come back,
„ they said, that every thing was quiet in the
„ City, only the Skies were in a terrible agi-
„ tation: whereupon the King was more trou-
„ bled than before, especially because that noise

Charles IX. „ lasted for seven nights, and began always at
 „ the same hour.,,

1572. „ The Massacre was a lasting Torment for the
 Pope Gregory XIII. King to his very last breath, as we shall say
 in its proper place, his looks and countenance
 were quite altered, and he grew much more
 four than before, his Mother and bloody Coun-
 sellors became to him the Objects of his utmost
 hatred; what added to his sorrow was, that
 he saw himself deceived in his expectation, for
 he had been made to believe, that the destruc-
 tion of the Admiral, and the chief of that Par-
 ty would be the end of all divisions, struggles and
 confusions in his Kingdom, and he saw himself
 much mistaken in that respect, far from having
 conquered that Hydra, as it was represented in
 one of those flattering Medals struck upon that
 Event, to keep myself to that allusion, not se-
 ven, but a hundred heads sprung out from that he
 had severed.

Indeed the Consternation was general at first
 amongst the Reformed in the whole Kingdom;
 many, as above said, forsook their Religion to
 save their Lives, many submitted themselves pa-
 tiently to the will and barbarities of their Mur-
 derers, making a Conscience to defend their Lives
 against these Butchers. But they were soon re-
 covered from their Panick, and for one that had
 appeared in the former Wars, there were six in
 the next, that thought it their Duty to defend
 their Lives against those who sought to destroy
 them without the least provocation, whatsoever
 authority they pretended for it. It is what we are
 next to consider.

Occurrences of the five last Months of this Year. Among other Subjects of perplexity, the Ci-
 ties of Rochelle, Montauban, Sancerre, &c. where the Reformed had fled for refuge, caused
 a great uneasiness to the King. As to Rochelle,
 Stroffy

Strossy and Poulin, alias Baron de la Garde, wrote to them in a very friendly manner, the better to surprize them, on the last day of August, offering them a Garrison to guard them, and desiring them to send a great quantity of Stores for the King's Navy. The Rochelese answered on the 2d of September, that they did not want any Garrison, being able to guard themselves, and resolved to maintain their Privileges; that having no more Provisions than what they wanted for themselves, they could not spare any for the King's Navy. Montpefat Seneschal of *Poitou*, wrote likewise a long Letter defamatory against the Admiral, and wherein he exhorted the Rochelese to submit to the King's Mercy. But the Rochelese scorned to answer him. Three days after they endeavoured to mollify Strossy by their Letters to him; wherein they did set forth their Innocency; whereupon it happened, that many of his Troops professing the Reformed Religion, seeing that the intended War against Spain had been but a Snare to deceive the Admiral, deserted him, and retired into *Rochelle*, where two fasting days were celebrated on the 9th and the 11th of September.

The King and his Council, seeing that Strossy, La Garde, and others were not hearkened to, sent Biron, Great Master of the Artillery, for Governor of *Rochelle*, with orders to engage them by all fair words and means to receive him into their City; the King himself sent unto them a most gracious Declaration, and Biron wrote likewise in a very friendly manner. Audevars, Steward to the Queen of Navarr, was charged with these Letters, with very ample Instructions: He arrived at *Rochelle* on the 7th of September. But all his endeavours proved

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. fruitless; for a few days after they answered, that they could not believe, that such a command of receiving Garrison proceeded from the King. They appealed to his former Letters, especially that of the 25th of August, whereby he loaded the Guises and their Faction, with the odiousness of whatever had been done at *Paris*, and declared, that with great ado he himself had escaped the danger in his Castle of *Louvre*, and amidst his own Guards. They added, that they thought it impossible for the King, that of his own accord, he would have cut his own Arms, and stain with so much innocent Blood the sacred Nuptials of his own Sister, &c. Then they vindicated the Admiral's Innocency, and desired to enjoy freely their ancient Privileges. They made such others like Remonstrances to Audevars, concerning their Religion, and the Squadron of *La Garde*, which they desired might be ordered to withdraw from their Coasts. Mean while *Biron* approached, and the Baron of *La Garde* began to threaten them openly, which obliged them to provide more carefully for their own Security.

On the 21st of October, *Biron* sent a Letter unto them by *Du Vigean*, but they refused to admit him into their City; therefore he came with a safe-conduct to *Tadon*, a Village in the Neighbourhood, and having no better Success than the former Messengers, he went the next day to *Sigongnes*, three Leagues distant from *Tadon*, where he stayed that night, and was assaulted in his Bed by some Soldiers of *St. Stevens's* Company, who broke open the Inn, killed three of his Servants, wounded him, and carried away his Horses and Baggage which they sold the next day to the best bidder. That Breach of Faith caused great Troubles at *Rochelle*,

Chelle, and Capt. Stevens and Guimeniere were obliged to leave the City. The Rochelese wrote to Biron for clearing themselves of the Fact, declaring that it had been done without their Knowledge, and begging that it should not be imputed unto them; they gave also Satisfaction to Du Vigean. All these submissions hindered them not from taking the necessary measures for their Preservation; having received notice, that they would soon be besieged by a strong Army; they sent new Messengers to the Count of Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres, and other Lords Refugees in *England*, to desire their assistance.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.



The Deputies sailed from *Rochelle* in the night of the 25th of October. The War was almost openly declared against that City, for all those that were known to belong to it, were detained Prisoners, and put to ransom; all the Ships that were coming into their Harbour were stopped, and their Cargo belonging to the Rochelese seized and forfeited, and several other acts of Hostility made against them.

On the 7th of November, Baron de la Garde sent two Galleys on pretence of carrying some Letters to *Rochelle*, but indeed to *reconnoitre* the Haven; the next night Des Effars, elected General of the Rochelese, sent in pursuit of these two Galleys, one of whom was taken, an Engineer killed, and another taken prisoner. Not long after that a declaration of War against them was published in the King's Name.

But whereas he was still unwilling to deal with his Reformed Subjects in so open a manner, and had chose rather to catch them by some treachery, he tried another Method.

After the surrender of Mons, La Nouë knowing not what course to take, for he found no security if he went back to *France*, and he was

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. become useles to the Prince of Orange in the *Low Countries*, because he was engaged by one of the Capitulation Articles, not to carry Arms against the King of *Spain* for a Year, while he was in that perplexity, the Duke of Longueville, Governor of *Picardy*, who had a very great value for him, sent him word that he should be very welcome in his Government, which Offer La Noüe accepted. At the same time, the Rochelese thinking he was still in Flanders, sent him a Messenger, intreating him earnestly to help them with his Counsels, in their sad circumstance for defending the Glory of God and the Remainders of his Church. But the Duke of Longueville taking him to be the fittest Man for reducing the Rochelese to the King's Terms, because of the great Interest he had amongst them, and the great Trust they reposed in him, brought him to *Paris*, and presented him to the King, who received him very graciously. Then, by his orders, he went to the Count of Retz, where he conferred with his Majesty; who, after having praised his Vertue and Modesty, and excused by many bad arguments the late Massacre, he exhorted him to imploy himself for pacifying the troubles that were arising in the Kingdom, especially at *Rochelle*; he spared no promises to give them full satisfaction if they submitted; and as to him, he would acknowledge that service by favours of all kinds, and joining Deeds to his Words, he gave him the Replevy of Telligny his Brother-in-Law's Estate and Goods, which he restored to his own Family.

La Noüe was much puzzled at this the King's Proposition; at first he excused himself, saying, that he was unfit for such a Commission; but at last, seeing himself forced to yield

to the King's Command, he told his Majesty, *that he would obey, provided he should not be made a Tool for betraying the Rochelese, and that he should not be obliged to do any thing against his Honour, which was dearer to him than his own Life*; which the King promised with many Oaths (†).

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

It must be owned, that a nicer Commission could never be given to an honest Man than that, whereby he was obliged to manage the Interest of a Prince whose hands were still stained with the Blood of those of his own Party, Professors of the same Religion, to manage, I say, the said Interest with those whom he loved intirely, and who had so many just reasons of mistrusting the King's Word, yea, his most solemn Oaths: nevertheless, he discharged that Commission with such circumspection, that both Parties were generally satisfied with his Conduct.

However, Abbot Gadagne having been joined unto him, rather for a Spy of his actions and words, than for any thing else, they set out from *Paris* by the latter end of October, they conferred with the Marshal of Biron, who was in the neighbouring of *Rochele*, and then with a Minister, whom La Noüe met upon the road, and whom he sent with one Tecles, to notify his coming and Commission to the *Rochelese*, and to have a Pass for himself and Gadagne.

The Rochelese were much surprized at this News; and having assembled the Council, the Votes were divided, some for receiving him, and hearing what he had to say; and others for not receiving him, nor hearing any thing

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(†) Vie de François de La Noüe, p. 70, 71, 72. Thuan. lib. liii. p. 851.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. from him. At last, after several debates, they came to this Resolution, to appoint a place out of the City, whither La Noüe should repair with Gadagne and his Attendants, at the time he would appoint himself, and that their Deputies should hear what he had to say, and make their report of it to the City's Council, without entering into any conference with him upon that Subject.

Accordingly they let him know by a Letter, that he might come to *Tadon* upon the day he would appoint himself, and should met there their Deputies. He came on the 19th of November, and met with a very cold reception from the Deputies. After having told them in few Words, how it came to pass that he met them then with such a Character, as Deputee from the King, he shewed his Commission, and concluded, by exhorting them to accept of the terms tendered unto them by their Majesties, provided they should have good Security for the strict performance of what was promised and offered.

The Deputies having heard the Propositions, treated La Noüe in a very odd manner. They told him, *that they had been put in hopes of meeting La Noüe at Tadon, but that they had been deceived, and that they were going to make their Report to their Principals*; and feigned to take their leave of him. But La Noüe without being moved, said to them, *How so, Gentlemen, don't you know me any more? Have you so soon forgot so many things that we have done together for our common preservation?* They replied, *Yes, we do remember very well that few Years ago, a certain Nobleman, named La Noüe, did many great and glorious feats for the defence of the Truth of the Gospel, and our own Preservation,*

tion, the remembrance whereof will be always deeply rooted in our Hearts. But as for you, we do not take you for that La Noüe. Indeed you have some of his Features, and the same Shape as he; but your Voice and Councils are so different from his, that you cannot be the same Man. In a word, La Noüe would never have suffered himself to be bribed by the promises of the Court for persuading us to deliver ourselves into the hands of the Persecutors of Truth, and the Murderers of our Brethren. That however, they would make their Report to the City's Council. And so they went away.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

How provoking soever that Speech was in itself, La Noüe suffered it patiently, without the least alteration in his Countenance; he was very glad that Gadagne had been present at it; for if the Negotiation had not the desired Success, he might certify, that he could not be answerable for it.

At last, with great ado, he was admitted into the City, where the Council, after having answered his Propositions, put to his choice one of these three Conditions; either to live amongst them as a private Person, upon the publick Charge; or to take upon him the Command of their Forces, and the Direction of their Affairs; or if he had a mind to go over to England, they would fit out a Ship for him, for that purpose. He thanked them for their kindness, and having taken a little time to consider, and to consult with Gadagne, he accepted of the Command, as being more agreeable to his Quality, Courage, and former way of living, and as furnishing him with better opportunities to engage the Rochelese to hearken to the propositions of Peace, as he let it be known to his Majesty. Therefore having been elected
General,

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

General, by the unanimous consent of the Nobility, Troops, and Citizens, he came into the City on the 27th of November, and took his Seat in that quality in the Council. His Soul was in the greatest anxieties, thinking how difficult it was for him to behave himself in such a manner, as not to afford any suspicion against him, either of betraying the Rochelese, or of not being faithful to the King. But his Integrity was such, and every one had so good opinion of his honesty, that no body ever misconstrued either his deeds or words. Therefore as long as he stayed at *Rochelle*, though he never spared himself, and did whatever the Rochelese could have expected from him at any other time, yet he was not deemed by the King to have done any thing unworthy of himself, or contrary to what he had promised him; and though afterwards he forsook the Rochelese, when he saw that all his endeavours for bringing them to hearken to some reasonable agreement, as he thought, proved needless, yet he was not deemed by the Rochelese to be a Defserter and a Traitor, but which is almost incredible, and without Example, he enjoyed the good opinion of both the King and the Rochelese (a).

The hopes of a Pacification which had been conceived, having been vanished away, a general Review of the King's Forces in that Country was made on the 4th of December, and there were no more than 18 Companies of Foot under Strozzi's Command, and seven Cornets; these having held a Council of War, they settled the order of the attack in the following manner. Biron named by the King Governor of *La Rochelle*, was to draw near the City with the Strozzians and the Cannon, while the Count

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(a) Eidem ibidem.

of Lude, Governor of Poitou, should make an attempt upon *Marans* a Strong-Hold of the *Rochelese*.

Charles
IX.

1572.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Capt. Norman commanded in that place with three Regiments of Foot and fifty Horse, and seeing that he could not withstand the Enemy, he marched out, in order to retreat into *La Rochelle*. But having met *Biron* in his way, he retired into *Grimaudiere-Castle*, strong enough by its situation to prevent a surprize. There he was summoned by a Trumpet to surrender, which having refused to do, he was attacked, and the Cannon being levelled, the Tower before the Gate was destroyed. But the night coming upon that, Norman improved that opportunity for making his retreat through the Marshes. *Virolet* that came with him, having refused to follow him, was taken with his Horse the next Morning; and not being able to pay his Ransom, he forsook the *Rochelese's* Service, and took party with the Royalists.

D'Anguilliers had been solicited by Letters from the King about the middle of November to forsake the *Rochelese* and retire to his own House, there to live peaceably under the benefit of the King's Edicts. These Letters being come too late, he could not answer, till about the middle of December, which he did with a very great freedom, setting forth, that he had been forced by necessity to come into that City, to provide for his own security, and enjoy the free exercise of that Religion, the Profession whereof the King had solemnly sworn to maintain, and nevertheless, without any regard for his Oath, he had forbidden it afterwards; therefore he desires the King not to take amiss, if he don't obey his orders, and if he stays in the City, till proper security has
been

Charles IX. been given for their Lives, and the free Profession of their Religion.

1572.
Pope Gregory XIII

Biron removed his Camp and came to *St. Andrew*, three Miles distant from the City, where he put sixty Cannon, and every thing else necessary for a long Siege: Strozzi advanced likewise to *Pileboreau*, a Mile off the City. Mean while, the Rochelese were very careful to get in their Provisions, and whereas the Season had been very fair, they got into the City 25000 Hogshheads of Wine, and a small quantity of Corn, because they could get no more. There was in the City at the beginning of the Siege about a thousand Soldiers, with about 1800 Inhabitants fit for Service; the most renowned amongst the Gentry of Poitou, that took refuge in it, were Roche-Esnard, Les Effarts, Champagné, Le Chaillou, and La Muffe: The best Captains of the City were Norman, Sauvage, La Salle, Vaudorne, and Lis. There was nine either Cannons or Culverines, thirty-eight Field-Pieces, about eighty Fauconets, eight other Engines, twenty thousand pounds of Powder, besides that which the Mills afforded continually. Such was the condition of the City when the Inhabitants resolved to withstand a Siege: It began under the Mayoralty of James Henry, a Man of great Prudence and Sagacity in the management of Affairs, and of a stout Resolution; he was assisted by Salbert, and both found means to reconcile the disputes of the Nobles with the Commoners concerning the Command. The remaining part of December there was several Skirmishes, wherein the loss of the Rochelese was but inconsiderable, one excepted, wherein Capt. Flojeac, a Saintongese was desperately wounded, and died at *Rockelle*. Before we proceed any further,

further, we must consider what was a doing at *Sancerre*, and in other parts of the Kingdom.

Sancerre, a Town in the *Berry*, had belonged in the former times to one Rogers, Bishop of *Beauvais*, and was devolved in the Year 1004 to one Odon, Count of *Champaign*, as a Compensation for the County of *Beauvais*; and by Succession, it came into the illustrious House of *De Bueil*, who became by that means Counts of *Sancerre* (*b*).

That Town lies about half a Mile off the *Loire*, and is strong enough by its situation, its Walls were at that time very indifferent. The Reformed Religion had been introduced early in that Town; and most part of its Inhabitants made a publick Profession of it: It had withstood a Siege in the last War, and though it was only defended by the Inhabitants under the command of two Attorneys, yet after several Assaults for six Weeks together, *La Chastre* was obliged to desist and to raise the Siege.

Now at the time of the Massacre, it became a place of Refuge for many Reformed escaped from *Bourges*, *Orleans*, and other Places, and were very kindly received, and entertained by the Inhabitants, which being understood at Court, orders were sent unto them on the 3d of September, to receive for their Commandant in the Town and in the Castle, whomsoever *La Chastre*, Governor of *Berry* should think proper to name, with as many Troops as he would be pleased to send; whereto having refused to comply, they were surrounded at the beginning of October, by some Garrisons in the neighbourhood which began to molest them; but they made such a brave sally upon them, that, after having forced their barricadoes, they killed

about

Charles
IX.

1572.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

(b) Thuan. lib. lv. p. 915.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. about forty-five of them, took some Prisoners, and put the rest to flight; by these means they were at rest for a few days. But it happened, that Cadaillet, one of the King's Valet de Chambre and Hunters, and a Dependant of the Count of *Sancerre*, very well known in the Town, was sent to confer with them. He behaved himself as a cunning Courtier, for he sowed division amongst those which were formerly strictly united together, from whence great Troubles and Confusions ensued in the Town, some being willing that Fontaines, sent to be their Commandant, should be admitted, and others not.

On the 9th of November, Fontaines's Brother surprized the Castle by the Intelligence of some Inhabitants, who shut themselves up in it with him; but by the stout Resolution of the other Inhabitants, especially of the Reformed, he was forced to march out of it twenty four hours after, just as Fontaines arrived with a Reinforcement, that obliged the *Sancerrese* to be more vigilant. They had about six hundred and fifty men of the Militia, with very few regular Troops, under the command of Martignon, Pilard, Martinat, La Fleur, Buiffon, Dorival, and other Captains or Lieutenants, all of them under the Command of Andrew Johanneau, Bailiff of *Sancerre*; besides that, they had 150 Husbandmen, which were of very great service with their Slings during the Siege, as well as the Women, who carried themselves with the greatest bravery. But the Bailiff Johanneau was so self-conceited, that not believing that the Town would ever have been besieged, at least as long as *La Rochelle* subsisted, neglected all the necessary Preparations for a Siege, took no care for having a good Store of Victuals, or for repairing the Fortifications, and having the place cleaned
of

of whatever could be detrimental to it ; by which wilful neglect, the Inhabitants saw themselves exposed to the greatest inconveniences, but especially to the most dreadful Famine, scarce to be paralleled with any other mentioned in the ancient or modern History. The relation whereof comes of course amongst the events of next Year (c).

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Besides *La Rochelle* and *Sancerre*, several other places in *Guienn*, *Highb and Low Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*, came to a Resolution to repulse force by force. In *Guienn*, De Resniers above-mentioned, with Serignac, Brother to the Lord of Terride, Moulins, and some others of the prime Nobility in that Country, who had just escaped the danger, came to *Montauban*, attended with about thirty seven either Cuirassiers, or other Horsemen, on the beginning of September, in order to excite the Inhabitants to take up arms; but they did not meet with the reception they expected: for the Viscounts of Paulin and Montclair, who had been preserved by the favour of the Count de Villars, Successor to Coligny in the charge of great Admiral of France, having been persuaded by their Benefactor, were arrived before at *Montauban*, and had worked such a fright upon the minds of the Inhabitants, that they were quite dispirited, and refused to hearken to the instances of Resniers, &c. especially, when they heard that Montluc's great black Standard, and the Gendarmes of Fontenille and Sainctorens, with two Companies of Arquebusers on horseback, were in full march. Then Resniers and his Company unwilling to remain in a City quite disheartned, took to the Fields, knowing

(c) Thuan. lib. 53 and 55. D'Aubigné Tom. II. liv. I. ch. 9. Recueil des choses Memorables arrivées en France sous Henry II. — Henry IV. p. 444. — 452.

Charles IX. knowing not where to retreat. Being arrived at a place, where he was obliged to cross the Water, he saw Fontenille with his Troops coming after him. The place was so narrow, that it was impossible for him to drawback, or to avoid the fight; he resolved upon this last, and having divided his small Troop, which he encouraged by his example, as by his words, and especially by an earnest Prayer to God, which he made *ex tempore*, he assaulted the Enemy with such bravery, and wonderful success, that he took the five Standards, killed eighty Men upon the spot, took fifty Gentlemen Prisoners, and routed the rest; which done, he came back to the same place where he had offered up his Prayers to God, and gave him thanks for his Deliverance. Then with great ado, he led his Prisoners to *Montauban*, the Inhabitants whereof seeing that 390 Men had been broken and routed by 37, they were prevailed upon to defend their Estates, Liberties and Lives.

The Fame of this glorious feat being soon spread abroad, several Lords and Gentlemen joined with Resnier, and being assembled at *Montauban*, they sent for advice to *Rochelle*, and in the *High Languedoc*, and a strict union was formed between *Rochelle*, *Montauban* and *Nismes*, for their mutual defence. Strengthened by that union, Resnier seized upon *Villemur* upon the *Tar*, *Caussade*, and *Bioulle*. Negrepelisse, and several other places in the Country of *Rouergue*; *Puylaurens*, and others in that of *Lauraguez*; *Realmont*, and others in that of *Albigois*; *Mazeres*, and another in that of *Foix*, surrendered themselves. The Viscount of Gourdon took *Soillac* in *Quercy*, and *Cadenat*, then a very strong place; Serignac took *Terride*, which

was in debate between him and his Brother; *Buzet* near *Tboulouse* was taken by Escalado, and the Inhabitants put to the Sword. The Reformed made such, and some other exploits in *Guienn*, in a very short time.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre
gory XIII

Then they thought proper to settle an order amongst themselves; for which purpose they held an Assembly at *Realmont*, wherein it was unanimously agreed to divide the Provinces in six Parts, under six Commanders. The Viscount of Gourdon in *Quercy*; Serignac in the Country beyond *Garonne*; Viscount Paulin in *Lauraguez*; Viscount of Panât in *Rouërgue*; Viscount of Caumont in the County of *Foix* and *Bigorre*: Villemur and other places conquered by Resnier, remained under his Command. Furthermore it was agreed, that if any one of them wanted the assistance of any of the others, they should be obliged to march without delay, and with all their Forces to his relief; and for avoiding all occasion of Jealousy, it was likewise agreed, that he, who should send for succour, should command in his District, and that others should be obliged to obey him. After these Regulations, every one went to his own District, and made several exploits, which come under the next Year's Events (*d*).

The Consternation was such in Languedoc immediately after the Massacre, that many did not think of defending themselves, or of avoiding by flight the same Fate as their Brethren; they declaimed against the injustice of their own Party, and upon the necessity of obeying the King's, even the wickedest, especially the present King, since he was Major: They even feigned some belief of the Conspiracy charged upon the late Admiral, and did not forget the

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

List of the monstrous Vices wherein the Reformed had plunged themselves, by the Licentiousness of the former Wars; whereupon they said, That in the First they had behaved themselves like Angels; in the Second like Men; but in the Third like incarnate Devils: To all which they added, That they were not in a Condition to resist, being deprived of their best Captains, and of all other Means, but especially of Money.

Such and other like Reasons as fear inspired them, they alledged for excusing themselves from entering into any Confederacy for their mutual defence; and had they been treated by their Enemies with less Cruelty, it is not likely that they ever would have altered their first Resolution. But when they saw themselves deceived in their expectation, and that their submission and humility, far from daunting the ferocity of their Enemies, were made use of for ruining them with the greater ease; when they saw that *Castres*, and some other Places, which had willingly received Garrisons, had been treated as if they had been taken by Storm; then they thought it was high time to provide for themselves; and the examples of *La Rochelle* and *Sancerre*, awakened them, and revived their dejected Spirits.

Millaud armed at the same time as *Montauban*, *Nimes*, and *Privats* in the *Lower Languedoc* followed that Example, having refused to receive Garrison; *Anduse* in the *Cevennes*, and *Le Pouzin* in the *Vivaretz*, *Aubenas*, *Villeneuve*, *Mirabel*, and several other small Towns, did the same, as soon as they understood that *Damville*, Governor of *Languedoc* was coming. Gremian took *Sommieres* by Intelligence with the Inhabitants,

bitants, and made himself Master of the Castle by routing the Garrison that kept in it.

The Inhabitants of *Chelar* in *Vivaretz* seized upon their Castle, during the absence of the Governour, after an extraordinary manner. For La Mothe, the Governour, thinking that there was nothing to fear from People disheartened and unarmed, was gone for diversion sake to pay a visit to Des Gordes, Governour of Dauphiné, then at *Valence*, where he stayed for some days. It happened, that while he was bragging at Table, that the Castle of Chelar was impregnable, (and indeed it was one of the strongest and the best fortified in all the Kingdom) a Messenger came to let him know, that the Reformed had taken possession of it. How so? says he in amaze, unless they are come under the ground, or have fled over the tops of the Walls, that is impossible. Nevertheless he did guess more right and sure than he thought. For they were come from the Town into the Castle through a Passage under ground, known but by few of the Inhabitants. In the last Civil War that Town having been besieged by La Torrette, they had made that Passage, to the end, that if the Town was taken, they might retire safe into the Castle; but whereas La Torrette had been obliged to raise the Siege, the said Passage had been of no use till now. It had its entrance in a Cellar belonging to one of the Inhabitants, and was known only to six Persons. Now, whereas the Chelarians, who for the most part professed the Reformed Religion, saw themselves exposed to the outrages of the Garrison, who used them very ill, forcing them with Cudgels to go to Mass, and that the said Garrison increased every day, and threatened them with utter Destruction, they opened that Passage in the Night-time, came into

Charles IX.

1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. the Castle, broke open the Gate, killed all those who had a mind to resist, made the rest Prisoners, and being intirely Masters of the said Castle, they fortified it in such a manner, and kept it so carefully, that it was impossible afterwards to get it out of their hands (e).

Villeneuve was taken by the Reformed that came into it through the common Sewer, that went into the Town-Ditches, almost in the same manner as *Nimes* had been taken in the last War, by sawing a great Iron Grate at the foot of the Wall (f).

Damville being arrived in Languedoc, took the field with an Army of ten thousand Foot and six Companies of Horse, with fourteen Cannons. He made a vain attempt upon *Uzes*, but was received in *Calviffon* and *St. Geniers*, and judging rightly by the countenance of those of *Nismes*, who had burned their Suburbs, that they had a mind to defend themselves, he went and laid Siege to *Sommieres*; the Success whereof we shall relate in the next Year.

In *Dauphiné*, every thing was quiet enough for the remaining part of this Year, by the mild and prudent Management of *Gordes*, Deputy-Governour thereof; and *Montbrun* remaining concealed amongst his Friends, there was no commotion in that Province, till the beginning of the next Year.

The following are some particular Events of the four last Months.

As soon as the Pope heard of the Massacre, he sent in all haste Cardinal *Des Ursins* to congratulate the King upon that account, and at the same time to engage him to publish the Council of *Trent*; for Cardinal *de Lorraine* had given the Pope to understand, that the Reformed had hindered

(e) *Dinoth*, Hist. lib. 5. p. 375. (f) *Idem*, p. 376.

hindered the King from receiving the said Council ; which obstacle being removed by the Massacre of the most considerable amongst them, and the damp put upon every one's Spirits by so dreadful an Execution, the King would certainly comply with his Holiness's desires.

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.



But the Legate found himself much mistaken in his Expectations ; having stayed some time at *Avignon*, he was amazed when he came into *France*, that what was extolled at *Rome* with the biggest encomiums, was generally detested in *France*, even by the Catholics themselves, who had any sense of Honour ; nay, it was consulted at Court, whether the King should admit the Legate, or excuse himself from conferring with him : but having considered, that such a refusal would avail very little with the Reformed, and be very offensive to the Pope, it was resolved to admit him. In the mean time, by *Morvillier's* advice, the Legate was desired to speak very soberly and sparingly of what was past ; to which request he paid very little regard : For being arrived at *Lyons*, where he was received with the usual Ceremonies, he highly commended the Fidelity of the Citizens, and especially of *BOYDON*, that cruel and infamous Murderer, whom he publickly absolved ; he extolled likewise, in publick and in private, the King's great prudence, patience, and magnanimity in the management of that base and barbarous Execution. He arrived at *Paris*, and made his publick Entry into that City on the 23d of November, and took his Lodging in the Bishop's Palace. In all the Audiences he had of the King, he insisted warmly upon the reception of the Council of *Trent*, which he said was suspended in *France*, to the great Scandal of all Christendom ; then he added, that the present juncture was most

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. favourable for finishing that holy Work, whereby his Majesty would evince that his Zeal for the Glory of God, and the propagating of true Religion, and not any hatred or spirit of revenge against his Subjects, had been the only motive of what had been done of late, &c. But though the Court inclined much to grant his Request, yet, for the King's Honour, it was not thought proper to do it; for by his Letters Patents he had declared, that what had been done at *Paris*, had been done, *not out of hatred against the Reformed Religion*, but for preventing a Plot laid against him and the Royal Family. Several Books and Pamphlets had been published upon the same Topick by the Court's Command. Therefore the Legate was dismissed with abundance of fair Words and Promises. Then to return the Pope his Civility, Angennes de Rambouillet was sent Ambassador of the King to Rome, and John de Durfort, Lord of Duras, was sent upon the same Errand by the King of Navarr (g).

Cardinal of Lorraine having compassed his ends, by the destruction of his Enemies, returned from Rome about the same time, skipping for Joy, questioning not but he should bear the sway at Court; but he was disappointed in that respect, for Catherine stood in his way.

On the eighth of November was seen a new Phenomenon in Heaven, which seemed to be a Star, because it had the same brightness, a fixed place, and appeared in the same altitude as the Stars, and was moved by the same motion: It cut the Figure of a Lozenge, with the thigh and breast of that Constellation commonly called *Cassiopea*. At the beginning it appeared to be
of

(g) Thuan. lib. 54. p. 879, 880.

of the same magnitude as Jupiter ; but it decreased by degrees, and disappeared after 18 Months (b). Charles IX.

An Epidemical Distemper raged in France for a long while, and began to be known only in November ; it went by the name of the **CHOLICK OF POITOU**, because it raged especially in that Country : it caused violent Contorsions to the Patient, and disjointed his Members. It is said, that the same Distemper had afflicted the City of *Rome* in the fifth Century. FRANCIS CITOIS published a Collection of Observations made upon that by several of the most learned Physicians of Poitou. 1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Another dreadful Massacre was upon the point of being perpetrated at *Paris*, during the King's absence ; he was gone to conduct his Sister, the Duchess of *Lorraine* to the Frontiers. The Bastard of *Angoulême*, one of the most execrable Men in the Kingdom, plotted with some others of the same kidney with him, to murder whatever had escaped from the last Massacre ; they appointed a day for the Execution, they set a cross, as a mark, upon the suspected Houses of the richest ; every thing was ready, when some of the Conspirators bragged, that in a short time the remainder of that heretical Plague would be intirely cut off. This, joined with these unusual marks upon the Door of the Houses of the Richest, obliged the Presidents of the Parliament to wait upon the Duke of Nevers, whom the King had named Governor of the City ; they told him what they had heard and seen, and desired him to provide against any new Commotion. It happened very luckily, that a little before the appointed time, two of the Conspirators, the most intimate with *Angoulême*, were so bold as to go to the Duke of Nevers, and with an unparal-

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lelled

(b) Thuan. Ibid.

Charles IX. 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. *lled Impudence, affirming, that the King had ordered them to extirpate utterly the Hugonots which were resident in Paris. But the Duke told them, that till he should be better informed of the King's Pleasure, they should remain Prisoners, and they were brought to Jail, whereby the Murderers were frightened, and the Execution prevented (i)*

1573. *The fourth Civil War.* The most part of the Year 1573, was taken up with the Sieges of *La Rochelle, Sancerre,* and some inconsiderable Places in Languedoc, and the Ceremonies of the Duke of Anjou's Election to the Crown of *Poland,* and of his departing for that Country.

Though the Hostilities had begun in several Places some Weeks before the latter end of last Year, nevertheless, seeing that the Royal Armies took the Field only at the beginning of this, we shall likewise begin with it the fourth Civil War.

It would be needless to justify the taking up of arms by the Reformed on this occasion, none but dull Slaves can blame them, seeing what use Charles had made of late of his Treaties, Promises and Oaths, they would have been Self-murderers, had they not endeavoured to preserve their Lives by resistance. Therefore without dwelling any longer upon that subject, let us consider the principal Occurrences of this Year: I don't intend to enter into all the particulars of any of the Sieges, but only to make some general Observations, which may be sufficient to inform the Reader.

The King had three Armies in the Field very early this Year; one against the *Rochelese,* commanded by his Brother the Duke of Anjou; another against the *Sancerrese,* commanded by the
Marquess

(i) Idem ibid.

Marquess of La Chastre, Governor of *Berry*; and a third in *Languedoc*, commanded by the Marshal of Damville, Son to the late Constable of Montmorancy.

Charles IX.

1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

La Rochelle having been invested by Strofly and Biron, almost all the Forces of the Kingdom resorted thither, and the Duke of Anjou arrived in the Camp by the middle of February, attended with the greatest Lords of the Court, the Duke of Alençon his Brother, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Guise, that of Aumale, the Marquess of Mayenne, the Duke of Nevers, and even the King of Navarr, and the Prince of Condé; this was a sad thing for these two Princes, to be forced, not only to behold the misery of their best Friends, but to contribute to it, and to fight against those who had so many times fought for them, and would have done chearfully the same at that time, had they had an opportunity for it.

Siege of La Rochelle.

After several needless Conferences, the Place was battered with eighty Cannons. That Siege afforded a new Instance of the great Power of Liberty and Conscience over Men's Mind, it overcomes all, and cannot be overcome by any thing.

The Siege lasted seven Months, reckoning from the time that it was invested by Biron in the Month of November, to the raising of the Siege in the latter end of June. That City withstood thirty-five thousand Bullets, nine general Assaults, above twenty private ones, near seventy springings of the Mines, frequent Conspiracies, not only without, but even within its Walls.

The Inhabitants worked with so great ardour, that they had raised a double Terrace, and digged up a deep retrenchment at the batter'd places, before

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. before the breach was made ; besides that, they made very frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers, Women were as courageous as Men, and extremely serviceable, some went along with Men to fight, to defend one place, or attacking another, others for carrying some refreshments, or for carrying away and dressing the wounded, or for throwing upon the Besiegers Kettles full of boiling Oil, or Water, or Tarr, Rackets, and Bavinns with burning Pitch, pieces of Timber, Bricks and Stones.

Courage never failed them, though the Succours of England failed, by — I do not know what to say, for it is a mystery which I do not care to ravel out.

During all the Siege, the Besieged enjoyed perfect Health ; they had settled such good order for the distribution of the Victuals, that they had still enough for two Months longer when they were delivered ; for though they had no great quantity of Corn, yet they had abundance of salt Flesh and Fish : besides that, the Historians have related as a Prodigy, the vast quantity of Cockles, Winkles, and other like Shell-fish, which the Sea afforded them during the Siege, and which had never been seen before, nor have been after upon that Shore, at least in such great plenty. On the contrary, the Besiegers laboured under several inconveniences and difficulties, the want of Policy, and the devastation of the adjacent Countries, brought a great scarcity of Provisions and Forrage, and an intolerable Infection in their Camp, which produced frequent Epidemical Distempers.

But above all, the Lords, Chiefs, and Officers of the Army, were divided amongst themselves. There were three sorts of Persons in the Camp; the DISCONTENTED, almost all the Nobility were

dissatisfied with the present Government, seeing that the Queen-Mother managed every thing by three or four Foreigners, Covetous, Proud and without Faith or Honour; the FAITHFULL, these were the Reformed, who had not renounced their Religion, but who, for preserving their Houses and Estates, or for some Court-Interest, had followed the Duke of Anjou; and the NEWS, these were those who out of dread of the Massacres, went to Mass, though they condemned it.

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Out of these three sorts of People, the Party of the *Politicians* was formed; they had agreed amongst themselves, that without any regard to the difference of Religion, they should ask the Reformation of the State, and the Expulsion of the Foreigners. Amongst the Catholics, the Montmorancians, the Marshals of Biron and Cossé were the Ringleaders; that Party had been formed above a Year before the Massacre; the Duke of Alençon, who from his Childhood had received some impresson of the Reformed Religion, and had been intimately united with the late Admiral, in hopes, that by that means he might form a Party, and be in a condition to cope with his Brother the Duke of Anjou, whereto he was strongly solicited by his ambitious Favourites, especially Boniface la Molle, and by his Sister Margaret, Queen of Navarr, enraged at her Brother of Anjou, who scorned her now, after having desperately loved her.

The King of Navarr and the Prince of Condé, either out of jealousy, or mistrust, or fear, or all together, had avoided to join with them, as long as they were at Court, but these considerations vanished away in the Camp. Henry de la Tour, Viscount of Turenne, then still a Catholic, was the manager of that Association, though very young, but he was already very
subtle

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. subtle and cunning. And whereas they were all young and hot-headed, several Designs very strange and full of temerity were proposed amongst them, which cost very dear to some of their Authors, as we shall see in the next Year.

The King having got Intelligence of this, sent Secretary Pinard with orders to the Duke of Alençon not to remove from the Camp, or else he would incur his Indignation, the Duke sent back the Messenger without an answer, because he refused to show his order; whereupon the King's Council was in a great perplexity, and the King, in order to prevent a surprize, wrote to the Duke of Anjou, to make all the haste possible for taking *La Rochelle*, because he wanted his Troops near his Person; which occasioned so many unseasonable Assaults, and the loss of so many Men.

The brave resistance of the Rochelese, the great discouragement of the King's Toops, the extreme miseries, and more than that, the divisions that reigned in the Camp, outwitted the King, the Duke and their Councils; when the news of the Duke's Election to the Crown of *Poland* arrived very luckily, for extricating them out of these difficulties.

Since the Year 1571, Sigismond King of *Poland*, the last of the Jagellonian House, being in a declining condition, as to his Health, and without Issue, the Council of France had thought proper to send Balagny before hand, for disposing things in behalf of the Duke of Anjou, in case the Throne became vacant, as it did by Sigismond's Death on the 7th of July 1572. Then the Bishop of Valence was sent thither; he set out from *Paris* a few days before the Massacre, as above said. The Queen-Mother and the Duke of Anjou were much afraid, lest he should have good

good success in his Negotiation, they were unwilling to part one from another ; therefore at the same time that they feigned a great eagerness for it, and made use for that purpose of the King's Interest, they did obstruct it underhand. But the Bishop's great wit, capacity, and industry, overcame all these Difficulties, and he carried his point against Ernest, Son to the Emperor Maximilian II. John, Son to Sigismund, King of *Sweden*, who was but eight Years old ; John, Son to Basilides, Czar of *Muscovy* ; and Piaftus, a Polish Noble, all Candidates for that Crown. But whereas the Chief of two of the Factions were Calvinists, they obliged the French Embassadors to promise many things in behalf of their Brethren in France, especially that all the places then besieged should be released.

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

That News having been brought into the Camp, and that the Polish Embassadors would arrive very soon to wait upon their new King, some new assaults were given to the City by the Duke's orders and the Conferences were renewed. On the 17th of June a Truce was agreed upon, and then the Articles of Peace were settled on the 25th, and sent to the King, who ratified them, and they were drawn in the form of an Edict, whereby the former Edicts were extremely restrained. Since Liberty of Conscience to every one was granted, but not the publick Profession of the Reformed Religion, except in the Cities of *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, and *Nimes*, the memory of every thing past was to be quite blotted out of mind. So no Satisfaction was given for the former Massacres.

Nothing could be obtained in behalf of the *Sancerrese*, on pretence that their Town belonged to a private Lord, though the King's Troops kept it blocked up. *La Rochelle* and the other

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. two Places, were restored to all their Rights and Privileges, all other Decrees contrary to this were repealed; their resistance was approved of, and the guard of their Cities, Towers, Citadels, and Fortresses, were confirmed unto them, according to their ancient Privileges, admitting however, of Governors, provided they should not be suspected by them. On the 10th of July, about ten before Noon, Biron came into the City with two Heralds at Arms, and four of the King's Trumpets, being attended by the City-Lieutenant, and M. De Villiers, the Peace was proclaimed, then he was entertained at Dinner in the Town-House, and after Dinner he set out from *Rockelle*.

So ended that famous Siege, wherein perished of the King's Army, either by Sickness, or by the unavoidable Accidents of War, twelve thousand Men, according to some; but according to others, twenty or twenty-five thousand; nay, according to Thuanus, followed by D'Aubigné, the number amounted to forty thousand, either by sickness or killed; amongst whom, besides the Duke of Aumale killed with a Cannon-Shot, Clermont Tallard, the two Goas, and COSSEINS, the Admiral's Murderer, sixty Captains, as many Lieutenants, and Ensigns, several whereof were some of the most noted Butchers of Bartholomew's-Day (g). The Duke of Anjou escaped very narrowly, for being pointed at by a Soldier from the Rampiers, as he was walking in the Trenches with the King of Navarr, De Vins, Master of his Horse perceiving it, put himself on a sudden before his Master, and received the Bullets, which went through and through his Body, and nevertheless, tho' so desperately wounded, he recovered. The Duke was slightly wounded

(g) Thuan. lib. lvi. p. 927—942. Dinoth. lib. v. pag. 354—365.

ed with some small Shot in the Hand, Neck, and Knee; the Duke of Longueville died at *Blois*, and that of Uzez upon the Fleet before *Rochelle*, and was succeeded by his Brother James D'Affier of Crussol; the Marshal of Tavannes died upon the road, as he came to the Siege.

Charles IX.
1572.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Duke of Anjou with the Princes and several Lords went by Sea to *Nantz*, from whence he proceeded through *Orleans* to Paris; where we shall leave him, till we have related the affairs of *Sancerre* and *Languedoc*.

About the latter end of January, La Chastres being arrived before *Sancerre* with an Army of five or six hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot, besides the Peasants and the Pioneers, which composed sixteen Companies; he sent a Drummer to summon the Town to surrender by Composition, which he promised should be upon reasonable terms. But the Drummer was detained and killed, and the Inhabitants sent no answer; which was taken very ill by the General, and cost them very dear afterwards. I will not undertake the description of the attacks, &c. I shall only observe, that after a furious battering, several skirmishes, and two assaults, the General seeing the obstinate resistance of the Inhabitants, turned the Siege into a Blockade, two Months after its beginning; from whence ensued one of the most dreadful Famines which ever had been recorded in any History, ancient or modern.

The Siege of Sancerre.

The Sancerrese being every way shut up by their Enemies, at the beginning of April they had no other Flesh but that of Asses and Mules, which were all killed and eaten in a Month's time; then they eat Horses, Cats, Rats, Moles, Mice, and Dogs; these Animals being all destroyed, they eat Hides, Calves and Sheep Skins, then Parchment, Horse-hoofs, Horns of Lanthorns,

Dreadful Famine in that Town.

Charles thorns, Thongs of Leather, and Furnitures for
IX. Horses, Girdles of Leather, Herbs and wild Roots.

1573.
Pope Gre- At the latter end of June, three parts of the
gory XIII. Inhabitants had no Bread to eat, those who could
get some Linseed and other Seeds, whereof they
never thought on before for eating, ground
or beaten in Mortars, and made Bread thereof,
as they did also of all sorts of Herbs, mixed
with a little bran, if they had any. They eat
Bread of Straw-meal, the powder of Nut-shells
and of Slate, nay, the dry Bones of Corps : Suet,
old Ointment, and other old Grease, served to
make Pottage and to fry. The very Excre-
ments of Horses and Men, and the Filth of
the Streets served for Food. And on the 29th
of July, a poor Husbandman with his Wife
were seized and burnt alive, for having fed
upon the Head, Brains, and the Pluck of one
of their Daughters, a Child of three Years
old, which was starved to death, and the other
parts of the Corps were found in the House, re-
served for feeding upon. An old Woman who
had taken her share in that dreadful Meal, died
in Prison a few Hours after ; they were found
guilty of some other petty Crimes, but what
aggravated this, was, that the very same day they
had been comforted with some little portion of
Broth made with Herbs, and some Wine. Those
who went or were put out of the Town, were either
slain by the Centinels, or constrained with Cudgels
to turn back again ; and because they could not
be admitted into the Town, they lived upon
Sprigs of Vines, Blackberries in Hedges, red
Snails, and Herbs, and most of them died in
the Trenches and the Ditches. Among other
pitiful Objects, the Corps of an Husbandman
and his Wife, were found lying together in a
Vine, and two of their Children weeping and
crying

crying by them, the youngest whereof was but six Weeks old, which a charitable Lady of the Town sent for and took care of. If many died in the Vines, or in the Trenches and the Ditches, many more died in the Houses and in the Streets; sometimes they buried 25 and even 30 in a day, that perished for Hunger; almost all the Children under twelve Years of Age died. By the latter end of July there remained some few Horses which they had kept for Service, and six Cows, which afforded Milk for Babes, these Beasts were killed, and the Flesh sold per Pound, at a very high rate; they had also some Ears of Corn, which some of the Inhabitants went and fetch by stealth in the Night-time, and which were sold at half a Crown a Pound; but this last means held not long, because of the strict watch the Enemy kept. There were but 84 Persons killed by the War, but the Famine destroyed near 600, either within or without the Town; besides that many remained in a lingering condition after the Siege, several of whom died, while others, with much ado, recovered themselves after a long time.

All hopes in Man's Judgment failed those of *Sancerre*, the King having sworn that he would make them to devour each other, but the King of Kings preserved them by his Divine Providence. We have observed already that the Reformed Party of Poland had stipulated with Montluc, several things in behalf of their Brethren of France, and especially, that all the Cities and Towns besieged at that time, should be instantly released, and they had obliged the Bishop of Valence to swear to the strict performance of these Articles. Now the Polish Embassadors had no sooner set their foot in France, but they challenged Montluc's Promise, and he

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.



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Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. accordingly made such efficacious Instances to the King, that his Majesty sent orders to La Chastre to grant a capitulation without any further delay on honourable terms to the Sancerrese.

Capitulation of Sancerre.

Therefore after several Conferences, Hostages having been given on each side, it was agreed, That all the Inhabitants, either Citizens or Refugees of the Reformed Religion, should enjoy the Liberty of Conscience, and the Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses : That they should not be called in question for any thing past : That the Honour of their Wives and Daughters should be preserved : That all the Inhabitants should enjoy freely their Goods and Estates as before : That they should redeem their Town from being plundered for the Sum of forty thousand Livres : That what Troops they had should march out of the Town with their Arms and Goods : That those who had a mind to retire might do it with all safety, and dispose of their Goods as they thought proper, without being molested : That the King would ratify all these Articles.

A Truce being agreed, these Articles were sent to the King, who ratified them out of hand, and having been sent back to La Chastre, he entered into the Town on the last day of August, with most part of his Horse, and two Regiments of Foot. Few days after, the City's Gates were burnt down by the King's Command, the Ditches filled to the top, the Walls and the Towers pulled down, and the Bells taken away from the Churches, insomuch that the Town was made a Village only ; the Bailiff Jouanneau was murdered in the Night-time, within a hundred paces of Monsieur La Chastre's Lodging. And lest any thing should be wanting to complete the Misery of the Inhabitants, they were loaded with such heavy Taxes, that many were obliged

to mortgage or to sell their Estates, in order to pay them. On the 12th of September, La Chastre set out for *Bourges*, and left Durbois, Bailiff of Berry, for Governour of *Sancerre*, with a Company of Horse and a Regiment of Foot, which committed many disorders and plunders upon the poor Inhabitants.

Charles IX.
1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

So ended the famous Siege of *Sancerre*, which lasted about nine Months, and cost the loss of about thirteen hundred Men on the King's side, and about seven hundred of the Inhabitants, above six hundred whereof died of the Famine, as above said, the rest were killed; and what is very observable, is, that but twenty were killed by Cannon-Shot, tho' above six thousand Bullets were cast into the Town (*b*).

Now we must relate, in few Words, the principal Transactions in *Guienn*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, &c. The Admiral, Count of Villars, with an Army of eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, being entered into *Guienn*, besieged *Terrides*, and having batter'd the Castle with two Cannons, the breach was half done, when the Garrison obliged Farci their Captain to surrender; Villars caused him to be hanged at one of the Castle-Windows. After that Conquest, he was made Master of all *Gascony* beyond the *Garonne*; then having crossed that River, he laid Siege to *Caussade*, situated upon the *Aveyran*; his Army, according to D'Aubigné, was then eighteen thousand Men strong. That Place was but a small Town retrenched and fortified, but La Mothe Pujols, a brave Officer, commanded in it, and had with him six hundred Arquebusers: It was batter'd for twenty days, and the Enemy having been repulsed with great loss in

The Affairs of Guienn.

(*b*) Thuan. lib. lvi. p. 854, 914, 957, &c. Dinoth. lib. v. p. 385—391.

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. several Assaults, Villars was at last obliged to raise the Siege. La Mothe the Commandant was unluckily killed by chance a little after, by one of his own Soldiers, as he was appointing the Guard.

During that Siege, the Army had been continually harrassed by the Viscount of Gourdon's frequent Skirmishes, wherein he was always successful; therefore after the Siege, Villars led his Troops upon Gourdon's Lands, where they made great devastations, plundering his Houses, and even pulling them down out of spite to him. Then he laid siege to *Verfeuil*, where there were but one hundred and forty Men in Garrison, nevertheless, he was obliged to raise that Siege; his Army, though numerous, was composed for the most part of those base Murderers, Bullies, and Hectors when they had to deal with Women, Maids, Babes, decrepit People, or unarmed Men, but downright Cowards when they met with resistance: they used to murder when there was no danger to themselves, they fought nothing else but Houses forsaken; Merchants, Peasants, Women, and Children, that was their Game. They became so odious to the Country People by their Plunders, Cruelty, and all kind of Wickedness, that they raised against them the whole Commons, Catholicks and Reformed, who fell upon them wherever they could attack them with advantage, and killed a great number of them. The Duke of Anjou had sent to Villars some Companies of old Soldiers, under the command of Goas, in order to restore and settle the Discipline in his Army; one of which Companies was entirely routed by the Viscount of Gourdon, at the Passage of *Dordogne*.

John Nogaret de la Valette, who had the command of the Horse in that Army, not used to such plunderings, pilferings, and licentiousness

of that unruly Multitude, persuaded Villars to disband most part of them, and to send the rest into Garrisons. Then they both endeavoured to engage those of Montauban to yield to the King: by their advice it was that the Duke of Anjou wrote unto them several times to the same purport, offering to be guarantee for every thing which the King would promise unto them. As long as La Mothe Pujols lived, he obstructed with all his might these Negotiations; after his death, the Soldiery follow'd the same Steps; but at last, the Inhabitants were prevailed upon, and sent their Deputies conjointly with those of *Nimes*, to the Camp before *Rochelle*, who joining their endeavours with La Nouë's, engaged the Rochelese to accept of the terms tendered unto them (j).

Charles IX.
1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

In *Languedoc*, Damville, Governor of that Province, being arrived as above said, with an Army of above ten thousand Men, and fourteen Cannons, having taken *Cauviffon* and *Monpesat*, after a vain attempt upon *Nimes*, laid Siege to *Sommieres*, on the 11th of February. St. Gremian had made himself Master of it a little before; and had but just time enough to raise in haste some Works adjoining the Tower of *Caudas*, and another in the Town, and to make some other like Preparations. The Town was but weak, and commanded from several Places; but the valour and fortitude of the Inhabitants supplied the defects and weakness of its Fortifications. The Siege lasted about three Months, to the great detriment of the Catholicks. For the Reformed of *Languedoc*, who trembled at first at Damville's great Preparations, took heart again, when they saw such a small Town to withstand so long

Siege of Sommieres.

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. against the efforts of his Army, and began to hope well of the success of that War. The next day of the Siege, the Tower of the Bridge was beat down, and then the Walls being battered, large breaches were made in several places; several assaults were given, wherein the Damvillians were almost worsted, and forced to draw back. Those of *Montauban* sent a Succour to the Besieged, under the command of Viscount Paulin, which entered the Town; they received likewise Succours from *Nimes* and the *Cevennes*. Henry of Foix, Count of Candale, Brother-in-Law to Damville, arrived in the Camp with twenty two Companies of Gascoons. When they saw such a small Town, and so large a breach made in the Walls, they laughed at the Damvillians, as if they had been ignorant of the military Art, and especially in the attack of Places, extolling, with big encomiums the *Sommierians*, for their brave resistance against so great an Army; and trusting themselves upon their strength, ability, and courage, they intreated Candale to led them to the assault, and that they might march in the Van; which Candale having obtained of Damville, they with the greatest alacrity endeavoured to make their way through the breach into the Town: but they were so warmly received by the besieged, that after having lost three hundred of their Companions, they were forced to retreat. Candale in order to repair that affront, gave another assault the next day, but with less success, for he himself was killed, with a greater number of his Troops than the day before. He was saying the day before in a private Conversation, that he bewailed the Fate of the Kingdom, seeing that for the Sake of a few LEWD RASCALS, (*these were his Words*)

the

the Frenchmen were obliged to destroy one another (i). Charles IX.

Damville was in great perplexity after so many losses; but while he was considering within himself whether he should continue the Siege or raise it, St. Gremian desired him, of his own accord, to come to a parley, which was readily granted; and after several debates, it was agreed, That St. Gremian with his Forces should march out of the City with all military Honours, Drums beating, Colours flying, &c. That the Inhabitants, that would retire elsewhere, should carry along with them whatever they would; seven days were allowed for preparing themselves for their departure; and Damville was obliged to send Hostages to *Nimes*, to remain there till all the Articles were duly performed. So on the 9th of April St. Gremian marched out of the place at the head of six hundred Arquebusers; and the Inhabitants retired, some to *Nimes*, and others to the *Cevennes*. As to Damville, having lost five thousand Men before that place, he sent the rest of his Army into several Garrisons.

His Conduct and Gremian's were equally censured by their Party; the Marshal was charged with having designedly consumed his Forces before a little paltry Town; and Gremian was charged with having courted Damville at the expence of the CAUSE, seeing, that if he had tarried a little longer, the Marshal would have been forced to raise the Siege. There was something true in both charges, for Damville could not but be exasperated, when he considered, that had it not been for the Duke of Montmorancy's Absence, he and his Brethren were to share the same Fate with the Admiral on Bar-

(i) Thuan. lib. 55. page 910—12. Dinoth, lib. page 371, &c.

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

tholomew's day; besides that, he and his Family were already very far engaged in the Politician's Party, which broke out by the latter end of this Year, and united themselves with the Reformed. As to St. Gremian, certain it is, that Ammunition and Provisions were grown very scarce in the Town, and had Damville been acquainted with it, very likely he would not have granted such honourable terms; but it is true too, that they were not reduced to such a low ebb, but they could hold out three or four days longer.

However, the Reformed encouraged by that success, which was very great considering their Circumstances, were not satisfied with only keeping or defending of their own Towns and Cities, where they were the strongest, but now they thought of attacking, and were so successful in their Enterprizes, that almost every day brought the news of some new conquest of their own, without any loss. Amongst others, they took *Florensfac*, a very strong Place, not far from *Narbonne*: *Le Poussin*, upon the Bank of the *Rhône*: *Cursei* in the Diocese of *Valence*; all Places of great Importance in those times, for their situation and strength. They were likewise blest with several happy Successes in the *Vivaretz*, and the Country of *Ceyennes*: And now for preventing, lest any Jealousy should create some Division amongst their Chiefs, they unanimously elected John St. Chaumont De St. Romain for their General; he had hardly escaped from the Slaughter of Paris, and was retired to *Geneva*; his great Qualities, his moral, civil, and military Virtues, made him justly beloved and respected by the Nobility and Gentry, by the Soldiery and the Inhabitants of the Country; therefore every one applauded his Election. Then they
sent


sent a Deputation to Frederick Elector Palatine, craving his assistance, which he readily promised. Such was the condition of Languedoc when Peace was proclaimed at Rochelle (l).

Charles
IX.
1572.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

In *Dauphiné*, they made at first several unsuccessful attempts, under the command of Montbrun, upon *Valence*, *Montelimar*, and *Crest*; but they took *Or-Pierre*, *Serres*, and other Strong-Holds in the Diocese of *Die*. At this time Francis De Bonne, Lord Des Diguieres, De Morges, and Champoles, seized upon *La Mure* in the Mountains, which they fortified in all haste, while Montbrun ran up and down the Country with a handful of choice Men, spreading the terror of his Name all over the Province (m).

Whoever shall consider the wonderful Success the Reformed had during this short War, and the great losses their Enemies suffered, will certainly acknowledge the Finger of God, who never lets go unpunished the shedding of innocent Blood. How a handful of Men dejected, dispirited, without a Chief, without provisions, without any human support, could withstand one hundred thousand Men, under the command of the best experienced Captains, authorized by the King, intirely bent on their utter ruin, and wanting of nothing necessary for the compleating of it, unless prudence for managing their Enterprizes: That that handful of Reformed, (*for so I call about ten thousand to the utmost that were in arms during this War, eicker in ROCHELLE, or SANCERRE, or in GUIENNE, or in LANGUEDOC or DAUPHINE, and sure I am there was no more*) in the condition I have said they were in, dispersed as they were in so many different places, have been able to resist, and not only to resist,

(l) D'Aubigné Tom. 2. liv. 1. ch. 13. Dinoth. *ibid.*
(m) *Eid. ibid.*

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. list, but to break the Forces of their Enemies, and reduce them, at least, to half their number, (by the most moderate computation, the King lost in this War, no less than fifty thousand Men, viz.  forty thousand before ROCHELLE, five thousand before SOMMIERES, twelve hundred before SANCERRE, and the rest in Skirmishes, or the taking of Strong-Holds, Castles, Towns, and Rencounters, I do not magnify at all the object) while they did not lose in the whole three thousand of their own People, good part whereof were Women and Children. Methinks such an Event can't be ascribed but to God only, who sent a spirit of blindness and division in the Catholick Army, composed mostly of those execrable Executioners of Bartholomew's day, most part whereof perished miserably during this War: but such great losses, according to Thuanus, caused the King to say, *that he had got more by his Ediēt of Peace published at Rochelle, than by Bartholomew's day Execution.* He would have got more, had he sincerely and fully restored his Ediēt of 1570. But the national Sins cried for more severe Punishment.

*Reception
of the Po-
landers at
Paris.*

Now we must come to *Paris*, where the reception of the Polish Embassadors, the Feasts given on that account, and the departure of the King of *Poland*, will not stay us very long.

The Polish Embassadors, to the number of 12, the chief whereof was the Bishop of *Posnia*, arrived at *Metz* on the 25th of July; they made their publick Entry into *Paris* on the 3d of September, and on the 10th of the same Month, was read the Decree of Election in the Great Hall of the Palace; the King of *France* was present in his Regalia, attended by the Princes and Lords of his Court; the Decree being taken out of a large silver Box, sealed with an hundred and

and ten Seals of the Prelates, Palatines, and Castellans of the Kingdom, was opened and read loudly by one of the Embassadors. The King thanked them very civilly; then he got up from his Seat, and went to embrace his Brother the King of *Poland*, the other Princes and Lords paid him likewise their compliments; he kissed the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarr, and treated others with more or less Honour, according to their Rank and Dignity.

Charles IX.

1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

I shall not speak here of the Feasts and Balls wherewith the Queen-Mother entertained them; these are but the Shrimps of Luxury and Prodigality, the memory whereof don't deserve to be kept any longer, than the smoak of Meats and the tune of musical Instruments. But I shall observe, that amongst all the Nobility, and the Lords of the Court, two only were found able to converse in Latin with the Polish Embassadors, so gross was their Ignorance at that time; these two were the Baron of Millaud, and Castelnau de Mauvissiere.

The King of *Poland* made likewise his publick Entry into Paris by St. Anthony's Gate, with an equal magnificence. It was taken as a bad Omen, that the Heralds at Arms had not rightly blazoned the Scutcheon of *Poland*.

These Ceremonies being ended, the King of France, who was intirely resolved to govern by himself, hastened his Brother's departure as much as he could, every hour that he stayed seemed to him a Year; but the more he pressed him, the more his Polish Majesty was ingenious to find out pretences for delaying his Journey; and many things contributed to make him so backward, not only the pleasures of the Court, the tenderness of his Mother, the authority almost Royal, wherewith he was invested by his charge

of

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. of Generalissimo of the King's Armies, the hopes of succeeding very soon to the Crown, Charles having no male Issue; but there was something more poignant than all the rest, and it was his desperate Love for the Princess of Condé. The Duke of Guise, her Brother in-Law, flattered him, nay, he served him in his passion, though without success; and by that means, he was so far in favour with that Prince, that he could not be without him.

Seven or eight days being spent, and the King of *Poland* not thinking of setting out; though all his equipage was ready; King Charles provoked at it, and seeing that his Brother sought only a pretence for spending the Winter in *France*; told him in a passion, and with many repeated Oaths, as usual to him, that he or himself must depart the Kingdom, and swore that his Mother would not be always assistant to him.

The Queen's Devices for delaying Henry her Son's Journey.

The Queen Mother herself, whose darling Henry was, was now quite altered, and as warmly and eagerly as she had sued for the Crown of *Poland* for her Son, as unwilling was she now to let him go out of her sight, and was no less ingenious for contriving some new pretences of delay, so far, that though King Charles had in every other respect very great regard for her, and was very submissive to her will, nevertheless he was so much provoked at her on this account, that, by his orders, she was denied admittance into his Closet: therefore seeing, that she could not any longer prolong the time, being quite tired out with her former design, she set herself upon another, and imagined, that if she could not recall him to *France*, to recall him at least to some of the neighbouring Countries. For that end, she charged Gaspard de Schomberg, a Man no less conspicuous for his great prudence

prudence and sagacity in the management of Affairs, than for his military Virtues, to treat with the Prince of Orange, upon some honourable terms, for the Generalship of the Provinces Forces in the *Low Countries*; for Henry her Son, who could come easily with a Fleet fitted out at *Dantzick*, having previously obtained leave of the King of *Denmark*, and the consent of the Estates of *Poland*, who should assist him, as she thought, in that design.

Charles IX.
1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Schomberg executed his Commission; and having met the Prince of Orange's Deputies at *Metz*, they went so far as to set down the Conditions in writing on both sides; but what happen'd afterwards put an end to that Negotiation (n).

Mean while, King Charles was gone to hunt at *Villers-Coste-Retz*, designing to wait for his Brother the King of *Poland*, who was at last obliged to set out on his Journey on the 28th of September; the Queen Mother, the Duke of Alençon, the King and Queen of Navarr, the Prince of Condé, and the whole Court accompanied him to the Frontiers of the Kingdom: King Charles had resolv'd to do the same, not out of love, but out of impatience, and that he might be sure that his Brother remained not hidden in some Corners of his Kingdom; but he was hindered from it by a Fit of Sickness, which seized upon him at *Vitry*, from whence he came back to *St. Germain*. King Henry proceeded in his Journey, and the Queen-Mother, &c. went with him to *Blamont* in *Lorraine*, where they parted from one another, with great sighs, and a flood of tears. Catharine seeing King Charles bent upon the departure of his Brother, and that it was dangerous for him to stay any longer, told him loudly, *Well my Son,*

(n) Thuan. lib. 57. p. 567, 968.

Charles IX. *Son, go, but depend upon it, you shall not stay long in that Country.* Charles being taken ill, two or three days after, many inferred from these words, that his distemper was occasioned by poison.

1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

As for my part, I can't be of that opinion, but I rather believe, that the extremity which the affairs of the *Netherlands* were reduced to, would oblige the Prince of Orange to accept gladly of the abovesaid Proposition tendered unto him in her Name by Schomberg, and that by those means she would see again very soon her darling.

However, Henry proceeding, was received every where with the greatest demonstrations of respect; only the Elector Palatine, a Prince of the strictest Honour, Probity, and Virtue, was willing to improve this opportunity of shewing forth his utmost detestation for the Massacre of Bartholomew's day.

His Reception at the Elector Palatine's Court.

Amongst the German Princes that were come to Blamont to meet King Henry, were Christophle, Son to the Elector Palatine, the Prince of La Petite Pierre, (or *the Small Stone*) of the Palatine House, and Lewis of Nassau; they, after having conferred in secret with the Queen-Mother, concerning the expedition of the *Netherlands*, led Henry to *Saverne* or *Zabern*, where he was splendidly entertained by the Bishop of *Strasbourg*; from thence travelling through the Countries of *Spire*, *Worms* and *Mentz*, they arrived upon the Borders of the *Rhine*; which having crossed, Henry and his Council thought, that they could not commodiously and civilly proceed any further without paying a Visit to the Elector Palatine, therefore they went to *Heidelberg*. The Elector having notice of his coming, did not think proper to put all his Guards, much less his Troops, under Arms: This frightened the King of Poland and his Retinue, they

suspected that there were some ambushes laid for them: Nevertheless, that Prince received his Majesty with civility, though with a great gravity. He led the King into a Gallery of Pictures, where the first Object that offered itself to his view (*and this had been purposely done*) was the late Admiral's Picture; at this sight, there was some alteration in Henry's Countenance, which being observed by the Elector, he told him, „ There is the Picture of the best French-
 „ man that ever was born; in the death where-
 „ of France hath lost much of its honour, cre-
 „ dit and security: Witness the Letters that
 „ were found in his Box, whereby he advised
 „ his King, how he ought to behave himself
 „ with his Brothers, and in the affairs concern-
 „ ing the *Low Countries*, in regard to the Court
 „ of *England*. We have been told, that those
 „ Memoirs were read before Monsieur D'Alen-
 „ çon your Brother, and the Embassador of *Eng-
 „ land*, who were asked, whether he was such a
 „ good Friend unto them, as they deemed him;
 „ and that they answered (*as we have related
 „ above*). „ The King of *Poland* answered, that
 he was not guilty of what had been done, and
 made short upon that subject, taking for an affront
 what the Elector had told him; so far Thu-
 nus and D'Aubigné his Abbreviator. But the
 German Historians, according to this last named,
 say, that in the same Gallery there was like-
 wise the Picture of the chief Lords and other
 notable Persons, who had been murdered at that
 dreadful time; and that the Elector Palatine go-
 ing by, had been very prolix upon that sub-
 ject; „ We have been acquainted, SIR, *says*
 „ *he to the King*, how your Embassadors have
 „ disguised these Facts, by their Speeches and
 „ Writings, to which none, or very few, have
 „ given

Charles
IX.

1573.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII.

„ given credit, though many feign to be persuaded ; they quote in their own defence, the Murders perpetrated by Baron des Adrets, and such like of the Reformed's violent Actions, but all that they say, can amount to no more than this, that the Reformed have some times made poor reprizals, which bear no proportion with the many wrongs, injuries, and cruelties used against them, for it is to the utmost, no more than one Catholick for a thousand Reformed ; so they may be considered rather as threatnings, in order to put an end to the future inhumanities. Furthermore, these actions were but the natural effects of the War that was kindled, and committed on those that were armed in a condition to resist and defend themselves ; and not on the old Men, Women, Children and Babes that could not resist, and who had been brought, or had retired themselves into your Prisons, into your very Bosom, as in places of safety. They bring again in their own defence, the criminal example of others, such as that of Mithridates, who caused forty thousand Romans to be slain in a day ; that of Peter of *Arragon*, who procured the death of eight thousand Frenchmen in the Sicilian Vespers ; to these they subjoin the Cruelties of Christiern in *Denmark*, and ten or twelve such like Stories, which have no relation at all with this Fact. Those have been cruel to their Enemies who were Foreigners, but without any base artifice ; but you have perpetrated a Massacre upon your most faithful Subjects, that were unarmed ; you have drawn them into your Nets by so many caresses, tokens of love and friendship ; you have stained the honour of Marriage, and trod under your feet

„ feet whatever is most sacred amongst Men,
 „ as well as whatever is most respected in the
 „ King's Majesty. They add to this, the Con-
 „ spiration of the Admiral; but to be convin-
 „ ced of the injustice and falsity of the charge,
 „ one needs but to consider, that he was at-
 „ tended only by three hundred Gentlemen,
 „ that his two Arms were wounded, one whereof
 „ they talk'd of cutting off; that his Bed was al-
 „ ways surrounded with Physicians and Surgeons,
 „ who forbid him to think, or to talk of any
 „ other affair; and that he was surrounded with
 „ fifteen hundred Gentlemen, two thousand Sol-
 „ diers of the Guard, and sixty thousand Pari-
 „ sians, all armed and full of spite and rage against
 „ the Reformed.

Charle
 IX.
 1573.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

The good Elector judging by the King's Coun-
 tenance, that he took these Remonstrances for
 threatnings, went on thus: „ Now Sir, the Ger-
 „ man Princes, (thank God) have not as yet
 „ stained their Hands, nor their Fame with the
 „ Blood of those that trust themselves to them;
 „ and in that, my Religion is of one accord
 „ with my Country: I have mentioned these
 „ things unto you, as a Friend, to desire you
 „ to detest for the future bad Counsels, where-
 „ by I think you have been moved, rather than
 „ by your own nature; desiring you to see what
 „ service I can do for you; and I will show you
 „ that the Children of God don't bear any ill-
 „ will or grudge against no body.„ The King
 thanked the Elector, but in a manner which be-
 trayed his secret fears. Which was much increas-
 ed in the night; for some of the Kitchens in the
 Castle having taken fire, either accidentally or,
 designedly, such vast crouds of People ran to it,

Charles IX. with so great a noise, that they thought it was a new Bartholomew's-day (o).

1573. In all other respects the Elector, having un-
 Pope Gre- burthened his heart, entertained his royal Guest
 gory XIII. with great magnificence. The King set out
 from *Heidelberg* on the 13th of December, and
 continued his Journey to his Kingdom; which
 being so far out of our way, we shall refer our
 Readers to the Books written upon that Subject.

*The Polish
 Embassa-
 dors Re-
 quest.*

But before we leave the Polanders, I must not omit, that amongst other things which the Polish Embassadors, especially the Reformed, insisted upon with King Charles, they required that the Duke of Montpensier's Daughter, retired to the Elector Palatine's Court, should be reconciled to her Father by the King's interposition; that by the same means, Lady Jacqueline de Monbel D'Entremont, Relict of the late Admiral, who was detained Prisoner at *Turin* by the Duke of *Savoy*, should be set at liberty, and all her Estates restored unto her, and that she might live in perfect Liberty of Conscience in her own House; and that Charles De Coligny, Son to the Admiral, who was detained Prisoner at *Marseilles*, should be likewise set at liberty: but the King shifted off these demands as he had done most part of the others, which had been tendered by the same in behalf of the French Reformed (p).

*The Re-
 formed Ps-
 titions.*

While the King was at *Villers-Coste-Rets*, he received the Petition of the Reformed Deputies of *Languedoc* and *Guienn*. Tho' the Reformed of these Provinces were included in the Edict published at *Rochelle* after the Siege, nevertheless they had refused to submit themselves to
 the

(o) D'Aubigné Tom. 2. liv. 2. ch. 4. (p) Thuan. lib. 57. p. 964.

the terms of it; and with the King's Licence they held an Assembly at *Nismes*, and then at *Montauban*, on the 24th of August, (*Bartholomew's-Day*) wherein it was unanimously agreed, that there was no provision made for them in the Edict of *Rochelle*, and that the Articles thereof were captious; that they were deprived of the most valuable of their Goods, viz. the free Profession of their Religion; that they were left to the Mercy of their Enemies, and such like Grievances too hard for them to bear with. Therefore they agreed to petition the King for redress, and sent their Deputies to Court, viz. *Cavagnac*, *Yollet*, and some others. The substance of their Petition, was to the following purpose: That they most humbly thanked his Majesty for his inclination to Peace, and besought him not to take it amiss, if feeling still the dreadful effects of the *Parisian* Massacre, they required that a little more regard should be had to their own security: That they trusted intirely to the good nature of their Prince, but not to his bad Counsellors, whose injustice and great influence were obvious to every one, since the King having openly declared by his Letters his utmost detestation of the execrable act of *Bartholomew's Day*, they had obliged him to own it by a publick Edict. Therefore they required, that a strong Garrison of Reformed should be maintained at the King's charge in the Cities which they held; furthermore, that in each Province two more cautionary Towns should be granted unto them; again, that the publick Exercise of their Religion should be allowed every where all over the Kingdom, without any distinction of Places; again, that their Causes should be heard before a Court composed of Reformed Members; that their Estates should not be liable to the

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Tythes, unless for the Maintenance of their Ministers; again, that all the Authors, Abettors, and Executioners of the Massacre, should be rigorously punished, as Highwaymen, Murderers, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; again, that all Inscriptions against the Memory of the Deceased should be erased, all Decrees and Sentences of the Parliament of *Paris* and *Thoulouse*, given since the Massacre, be reversed; again, that those of the Clergy who professed their Religion, and the Children descended from them in lawful Marriage, should be declared capable of succeeding to any Estate, Honours, Dignities, and Offices, being judged only by Reformed Judges; again, that the Tutors and Curators should be bound to train up their Pupils of the Reformed Religion, in the same; again, that those of the *Venaisine County*, and of the Diocese of *Avignon*, should enjoy the same Privileges; again, that the Ordinances and Statutes of the late Queen of Navarr, should be inviolably kept in Bearn; that all Princes, Magistrates and Corporations of the Kingdom, should be bound by a solemn Oath, to observe and keep the Premises (q).

That Petition was subscribed by the Viscounts Paulin, Gourdon, St. Romain, and several others. When it was tendered to the King and read before him, some admired the Petitioners Boldness, others were full of Indignation at it, especially the Queen Mother, who said, *That was the late Prince of Condé in the Center of the Kingdom, at the head of an Army of twenty thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot strong, nay, was he Master of Paris it self, he would not insist on half of the Articles mentioned in the Petition.*

At

(q) Thuan. lib. 57. p. 968. D'Aubigné, tom. 2. liv. 2. ch. 2.

At the same time the Deputies of *Dauphiné* and *Provence* tendered their Petition, praying for a Diminution of Taxes. The King was advised to dissemble at present his Resentment against these Petitions and the Petitioners themselves, whereby he thought his Dignity had been much offended, therefore he eluded their Demands. For he referred those of Languedoc and Guienn to Damville, who was charged to treat with them at some convenient Place near *Montauban*; and would answer their Petition conformably to the King's Orders; and that in the mean while, he would provide them with impartial Judges to decide their Causes; and the Duke of Uzez, James of Crussol, who narrowly escaped from Bartholomew's Day, by the Duke of Guise's Favour, was ordered to go along with them to *Languedoc*, to the Marshal Duke of Damville.

Charles IX.
1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

As to those of *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, the King excused himself, telling them, that the great Charges he had been at for the Expences of the Civil Wars, and the large Dowries and Pensions he was obliged to pay to the Queen his Mother, to his Brothers, to the Queen of *Scotland* his Sister-in-law, and the Dutchess of Savoy his Aunt, did not allow him as yet to ease his People from these heavy Taxes; but that he would take care for the future, as soon as Peace should be settled in the Kingdom, to ease them, and to restore the Provinces to their ancient Privileges. These two Answers were delivered to the Deputies of *Guienn*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*, on the 18th of October.

Those of Languedoc met together at *Millaud* in *Rouergue*, with Damville's Consent, where they examined a-new the Matter of their former Petition; and far from abating any thing, they added new Articles to it, by way of Explanation,

Charles IX. and sent them to the Duke of Damville, by the latter end of this Year: and whereas they could not come to any Agreement; they being much exasperated, began to prepare themselves for War (r).

New Regulations of the Reformation in Languedoc. They divided the *Languedoc* High and Low, into two Governments, *Montauban* was the Seat of the first, and *Nimes* of the second; the *Cevennes* and *Vivarets* were put under the Jurisdiction of *Nimes*, and *Quercy* and *Rouergue* under *Montauban's*. The Viscount of Paulin was declared Governour of *Montauban*, and St. Romain of *Nimes*; they had the general Direction of every thing, but they were accountable to the States of their respective Governments. There were some private Deputies in every Diocese, who met together as often as Affairs required it, and whatever they had decreed was to be brought before the General States to be examined, approved, rejected or altered. These two Governours received Salaries, paid unto them by the General States of their Provinces, and each Government had its own Treasurer. It was agreed, that their Troops should be exactly paid at so much a day, which was for easing the People from Plunder, and that they might enjoy some Quietness amidst these Troubles. For finding out the necessary Supplies, every one was assessed at so much per Head; besides that, the Catholick Cities, Towns, Boroughs, Villages, Hamlets, were obliged to pay so much into the Treasury, for redeeming themselves, or else they saw themselves exposed to IncurSIONS and Plunders, which they were very glad to avoid; furthermore, they seized for the same purpose upon the Clergy-Revenues. So in a little time, they had fortified several Places, and provided them with all sorts of

Am-

Ammunition, and they had Forces enough of their own to keep them, without calling for any foreign Assistance, the two Governments being able to maintain twenty thousand Men. At that Example, many Catholicks grew milder to the Reformed, and desired their Junction for the Restauration of the State, as we shall see hereafter (s). I shall be more particular upon the Civil Government of the Reformed, at the beginning of the next Book.

Several Books, Pamphlets, and Libels were published at that time for and against the Government, which increased the Ferment wherein the Kingdom was at that time, to such a degree, that at last having took fire, caused a general Conflagration all over the Kingdom.

Amongst these, was **THE WILFUL SLAVERY**, written formerly in the Year 1548, by Stephen De La Boëtie (who was then a Youth of about 19 Years old, and was made Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*.) That Book had been written upon the Submission of the *Bordelesians* to the Constable of Montmorancy, after their Rebellion, mentioned in the 1st Book of the first Vol. of this History. La Boëtie was dead at this time, nevertheless, his Book was now published to serve a quite contrary turn, than that meant by the Author himself (t).

There was likewise another, with the Title of **FRANCO-GALLIA**, written by Francis Hotoman, a learned Counsellor at Law, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that the Kingdom of France

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was

(s) Dinoth. lib. 5. p. 392. Recueil des Choses memorables sous Charles IX. p. 487, 488.

(t) D'Aubigné hath mistaken grossly when he speaks of that Gentleman as living then, and having written out of spite for an Affront put upon him in the Louvre, that is false. See Thuan. lib. V. p. 156-7. Lib. 57. p. 969. Aubigné, tom. 2. liv. 2. ch. 3.

Charles IX. was not hereditary, as private Patrimonies, but elective, the General States having Authority and Power of depriving and deposing Kings; he evinces this odd Proposition by the Examples of Philip of Valois, John, Charles V. and VI. and Lewis XI. And above all, he doth insist upon the Incapacity of Women for all manner of Administration and Government in the Kingdom.

1573.
Pope Gregory XIII.

There was another Book published in Germany some years before, during the Siege of *Magdebourg*, with this Title, JUNIUS BRUTUS, or Defence against the Tyrants; wherein he treats of Obedience due to the Magistrate, according to the Word of God, and demonstrates that our Obedience to God must be infinite, but finite as to Men; consequently, that it is lawful for Subjects to rise in Arms, in their own Defence, against Princes and Magistrates who misuse their Authority for their Oppression. He examines several other Cases upon that Subject: that Work was ascribed to Hubert Languet.

The same Queries were afterwards treated anew and confirmed by the Sorbonne, the Congregation of Jesuits, the Assembly of the Clergy, and the See of Rome, during the League's Wars, to the great Scandal of every good Christian. At the same time was published, a Dialogue, under the Title of THE POLITICIAN, treating of the Power, Authority and Duties of Princes, and of the People's Liberty.

The last whereof I shall take notice, was that of one Poncet, known by the Name of Chevalier of St. Peter, having been knighted by the Pope. He had been introduced to the King and Queen-Mother, two Years before, by Chancellor Birague and the Count of Retz; he had told them, that having travelled much, he had seen all the Princes of Christendom, and several others, but that

that he had not found one whose Power and Authority was so absolute as the Turk's, and so on. Being asked, how France could be put upon the same foot? he told their Majesties, that the only way was to destroy the Princes, and weaken the Nobility so much, that it should be out of their power to resist, or even gain-say their Sovereign. As to the Princes, says he, which you can't take out of the way, you must keep them the lowest you can, granting no Place, no Dignity, no Favour to any body recommended by them; and besides that, sowing Division amongst themselves, and such other like base, tyrannical, and devilish Maxims, that really Machiavel was a Saint to Poncet, who was so barefaced and impudent as to publish his Opinions and Counsels. He was answered as he deserved; but how wicked and detestable soever his Tenets were, they suited so well with Catherine's Temper and Inclination, that she omitted not a Tittle of them, yea she went further still, poisoning those who were suspected by her, increasing the Divisions amongst the Nobility, starving the Natives, and loading the Foreigners, especially Italians, with all the best Preferments of the Kingdom. No wonder, if she was universally hated, and if the Catholicks joined the Reformed, in order to procure a general Reformation in the Political State.

It was likely enough that the King of *Poland's* Absence out of the Kingdom, would contribute to its Tranquillity and Peace, but it happened quite otherwise, thro' the Queen-Mother's Ill-will to the Duke of Alençon her Son, and her Impatience to see him debarred from all his just Pretensions. When she left *Blamont*, being afraid lest Alençon, improving this Opportunity, would ask and obtain the Lieutenantancy of the Kingdom, which his Brother had enjoyed, and that by

means

Charles
IX.
1573.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Charles IX. 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. means of the King of Navarr, the Prince of Condé, the Montmorancians, and Cossé, he would excite some new Commotions in France, and deprive her of all Administration in the Government, she no sooner was arrived from *Blamont*, but she whispered to the King as a matter of Fact, what was only one of her own Suspicions, to the end that she might estrange the King from his Brother, and that she might obtain the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom for the Duke of *Lorraine* her Son-in-law, with whom she expected that she might do whatever she pleased. As she was intent upon that Work, the Duke of *Alençon* got notice of what she was hatching against his own Interest, and he resolved to prevent her.

The Duke of Alençon courted by the Flemish. He had had a secret Conference at *Blamont* with Lewis of Nassau, and whereas for many good Reasons, because he was a Friend to the late Admiral, and persecuted at Court upon that account, and because he shewed himself inclined to the Reformed Interest, the Count took him to be better qualified than his Brother of *Poland*, for a Generalissimo of the Netherland Forces; he had treated with him unknown to the Queen, upon that Subject, and had agreed together upon the means of carrying on the War, and the number of Troops necessary for that purpose; all these things had been industriously kept concealed from the Queen. He questioned not but that the King, who was willing, (*as it was said abroad*) to resume his Authority, which had been formerly divided between his Mother and Brothers, being now rid of one of them, would be glad to be rid of the other too, who would be employed in a foreign War, whereby he might enjoy Peace at home, and recover by that means, the Authority which he had lost during the Civil Wars.

Now, for the very same Reasons, the Reformed in France had their Eyes fixed upon him, and intreated him, by proper Persons appointed for that purpose, to undertake their Defence, and receive them under his Protection; and to engage him to do it without delay, they produced some Letters, (*intercepted, as they say*) of the Queen-Mother to the King of Spain, and of the King of Spain to her, wherein mention was made of some Device to take him very soon out of the way. To this, the Brothers of the Marshal Duke of Montmorancy, and their Adherents, joined their strong Sollicitations; their Party went by the Name of Politicians and Discontented. They had had an Opportunity of imparting their Thoughts, and discovering themselves one to another during the Siege of *Rochelle*, as above said, and would have run to very great extremes at that time, had it not been for the prudent and wholesome Advices of La Nouë.

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.
And by the Reformed and Politicians in France.

What obliged the Reformed at this time to take such a step, (which was always disapproved by the judicious Du Plessis Mornay, who began at this time to appear upon the Stage, and who represented in vain to La Nouë, the dangerous Consequences of such an Union between the Reformed and the Politicians) was the News they received of an Enterprize against *Rochelle*, the Execution of which, the Queen had trusted to Biron, assisted by Puy-gaillard, Landereau, and the Count of Lude.

The Rochellese being acquainted with it by a Deserter just upon the point of Execution, the Mayor sent a Serjeant to summon James Du Lion, the chief of the Traytors, who was at his Country-House; but having refused to follow him, he was killed in his own House, his Papers and Memoirs were seized, whereby the whole Plot and

A Plot against Rochelle discovered.

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. and the Names of the Complices were known. Several were apprehended and being put to the Torture, they owned the Fact, and were condemned to be broke upon the Wheel, but they recanted at the Place of Execution. Only one Gui le Taillon by name, confessed the Conspiracy, and confirmed whatever had been found written in Du Lion's Memorandum, without any Torture; and whereas he had been formerly in the Magistracy, he was beheaded. At the same time the Rochellese, with two Ships commanded by Captains Saugeon and Normand, took a Man of War, named the Swallow, which roved on these Coasts, waiting for an Opportunity of doing worse: ten Soldiers of the Crew were hanged, but the Captain, Lichani of *Luca* escaped.

That Enterprize moved the Rochelese to provide for their own Security, and tho' the King approved by his Letters of the Condemnation and Execution of the Traitors, tho' the Queen-Mother, Biron, de Lude, and Puy-gaillard, denied utterly to be any way privy to the Plot, nevertheless they resolved to enter into the general Association of the Reformed Churches, for their common Defence. To which they were strongly exhorted by La Nouë, Mirambeau, La Case, and Montguion, who came to Rochelle at that time. It is true, that at first they were something forward, alledging their last Capitulation, their past Miseries, and their present Weakness: But they yielded at last to La Nouë's Remonstrances. That Lord having accounted for his past Conduct in the City's Council, to the general Satisfaction of the Publick, made use of such strong Arguments, that he brought them to the desired Point.

Another thing which helped much to that Resolution of theirs, was the News they received of Mont-

Montbrun's wonderful Progress in *Dauphiné*, and *Charles IX.*
Vivaretz; and the taking of the Viscount of
 Grammont in *Bearn*, which happened as fol- ^{1574.}
 lows. *Pope Gregory XIII.*

That Lord had been sent to *Bearn* by the King of Navarr, to restore the Catholick Religion in that Country, as above said; he was attended with 250 Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, well armed at his Castle of *Yemau*, ready to execute his Commission by the most violent Methods. The Consternation was general in the City of *Pau*, they celebrated a Fasting-day, and an old Gentleman of above 80 Years, and who had lost his Sight, Baron d'Auros by name, attending the divine Service, was so moved by the Cries of the poor Inhabitants, who expected nothing else but an utter destruction, that he called his Son, and spoke to him to the following purport. *My Son, says he, who has given thee Being and Life? It is God, by your means, Sir. Then, saith the good old Man, now thy God and thy Father demand again of thee the Life which thou hast received of them: God is able to preserve thee amidst all Dangers, even against all human Appearance: and accepting of the Sacrifice thou shalt make of thy Life for his Service, he will recompence you with another, infinitely better than this. Thy Father here present will follow you very soon; if thou diest, after having published thy Virtue and Obedience, he will bear witness to thee in Heaven, before the Throne of God: Go, do not open your Eyes as yet to see the number of thy Followers, for tho' few, they will be stout and courageous; don't consider as yet the number of thine Enemies, only to strike them with my Sword, which God will bless in thine hands.* The young Baron received the Sword, the Colling and Kissing of his Father, and went with 38 young Gentlemen to *Yemau*,
 and *Grammont seized in his own Castle.*

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. and without any further Ceremony, he alighted in the Castle-Yard; and whereas so many other Gentlemen arrived every minute in order to march the next day to execute the Commission, no notice was taken of d'Auras and his Company, being mistaken for some of the Viscount's Party. Being entered with others into the Castle, on a sudden they drew their Swords, killed those that made any resistance, several escaped by jumping out of the Windows, many were made Prisoners, amongst whom was Grammont himself; they took fifty or sixty Horses, and returned with their Prisoners to *Pau*: Grammont was put under Care's care, and so was the *Bearn* preserved at that time. All these Advantages got by the Reformed, induced the Rochellese to listen to whatever La Nouë required of them.

New Confederacy of the Reformed in Languedoc, and their Manifesto. By this time the Viscounts Paulin, Gourdon, Cadenet and Panat, the Barons of Serignac, Forquieres, Bruchieres, and several others of the Nobility, held an Assembly at Montauban to resolve upon the Articles of Peace, which they were to petition the King for; but before all, they thought proper to renew a strict and perpetual Union amongst themselves, as well for their civil as for their religious Concerns; to which Confederacy they admitted not only the Natives of the Kingdom, but also their Brethren of the Diocese of *Avignon*, of the Principality of *Orange*, of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and of the *Messine* Country, belonging to the Duke of *Lorraine*. They swore to assist one another for the Maintenance and Defence of the said Confederacy, and to spare neither their Goods or Lives for promoting the Kingdom of Christ, and his Glory, for maintaining the Throne, and restoring Peace in the Kingdom. And for the better Execution of this their Resolution, they agreed to put Garisons in
the

the chief Cities of *Languedoc*, and the adjacent Countries, for they had notice that the Court intended to raise Forces, not only in the Kingdom, but also in *Germany*, and in the Catholick Cantons of *Switzerland*, to destroy all those that had escaped from the Massacre of Bartholomew's-day, and they thought proper to prevent them.

Charles IX.

1573.

Pope Gregory XIII.



Another Reason engaged them to take up Arms; for they saw that every thing was promised to them, who trusting in their Arms, repulsed force by force, and that on the contrary, those who submitted themselves patiently, were the most severely treated. Besides that, their Petitions were not tendered to the King, their Enemies not suffering them to have any access to his Majesty. For these Reasons, the Reformed were forced to rise in Arms, having no other means left to divert their utter Destruction.

They published a Manifesto, which they directed to the Nobility, the Governours of the Provinces, and the several Parliaments of the Kingdom. They advised them to consider the Male-Administration of the present Government; that the Princes and great Lords of the Kingdom were not intrusted with the Management, or even with the Cognizance of those Affairs wherein the Publick was so nearly concerned; that the People were loaded with the heaviest Taxes, which however, came not into the King's Exchequer, neither were they laid out for the publick Use; that all Trade was dead, and the Tradesmen reduced to great misery; in a word, that the Natives, of what Rank or Condition soever, were deprived of means of Subsistence, being debarred from all Employments either in State or Church, if they had not Money to bid most for them; that the King's Exchequer was exhausted by extravagant Expences; that the most honourable
and

Their Manifesto.

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. and profitable Offices which used formerly to be given only to Princes, were now given to unworthy Men of the lowest Rank, who scorned the Nobility, and exposed them to the Dangers and Perils of an unjust War, kindled to gratify their own Passions. To cure these Evils, there was but one Remedy left, viz. the calling of the States-General, that the King might be acquainted with the Disorders that had spread themselves in the Kingdom, either in State or Church (*u*).

Perplexity of the State-Ministers. That Manifesto was like a Declaration of War; the Catholick Politicians or Discontented made no scruple to join themselves with the Reformed, already in Arms against the bad Counsellors and Governours of the Kingdom. These last having notice of this Confederacy, were in great perplexity, seeing that their Administration was so generally blamed and censured, and that the number of the Discontented increased every day; but what vexed them the more was, when they heard that the Deputies of the Provinces who had been summoned to *Compiègne*, having had a free access to the King, had represented to his Majesty in a very pathetick manner, all the Diseases of the Kingdom; for they questioned not but such a Boldness was inspired into them, by some of the greatest who countenanced them.


Alençon undertakes the Protection of the Reformed and Politicians. And indeed the Duke of Alençon, thinking it to be more convenient and agreeable to his own Interest, had chosen to declare himself Protector of the Reformed and Politicians of the Kingdom, having before been refused the Lieutenantcy thereof, by his Mother's Artifices, who destined that important Dignity for the Duke of Lorraine her Son-in-law.

La Mole, Favourite of Alençon, was the tool made use of by Thoré, Meru, Turenne, and others

(*u*) Dinoth. lib. 5. p. 396, 397.

others of the same Party, for solliciting his Master, and engaging him to take the steps which they thought convenient. But whereas the Duke of Montmorancy, Brother to the said Thoré, Meru and Damville, and Uncle to Turenne, was a Man of very strict Virtue, of great Prudence, and a true Patriot, an Enemy to all Factions, and seeking only the Peace and Welfare of his Country; La Mole persuaded his Master to consult him, and take his Advice upon dubious Cases, when he himself knew not what course to take; but he was above all very careful not to have him consulted but upon matters that carried with them a shew of Honesty, and that really tended to the publick Good, and no less cautious, that all things of another nature should be kept concealed from him. The next thing which the Duke of Alençon and his Council considered, was how to begin the Work; and several were of opinion, that he ought to tender only a Petition to the King in the Reformed and the Politician's Name. But having consulted, by La Mole's Advice, with the Duke of Montmorancy upon that Subject, that Lord did not approve at all of that way; for, says he, you will incur unavoidably the King's Displeasure, if following the late Admiral's Example, you do take upon you to petition for the Redress of the manifold Grievances and Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects; it would be better, if you do ask the General-Lieutenancy of the Kingdom, and if you desire it so, I will ask it myself for you. By that means, instead of being look'd upon as Chief of any Faction, you will be consider'd as a common Umpire, and one who interposes for the general Pacification of the Kingdom.

Charles
IX.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII



Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. *The Duke of Montmorancy asks the Lieutenancy for him.* The Prince relished much that Advice, and desired no better than to see it executed (*u*). Therefore the Duke went to Court, and petitioned the said Lieutenancy for the Duke of Alençon, shewing forth by many convincing Arguments, that the Prince could not be denied without doing him a great Injury. The King granted the Request, either by force, for avoiding a greater Mischief, or because he was conscious, that he could not in justice deny it. But at the same time several things happened, which hindered the Effect of that Grant.

What I am going to relate was but a trifle, which nevertheless caused a greater Division between the Montmorancians and the Guisians. One Scævola Ventabran, who had been some time in the Duke of Montmorancy's Household, had ingratiated himself with the Duke of Guise, by some false Report or other, which had occasion'd Suspicions, Jealousies, and private Grudges between the two Houses; the Duke of Guise having discovered the Man's ill Temper, had expell'd him, and very often threatned him, that he would kill him, if he ever met him in his way. Ventabran neglected that Advertisement, and being at *St. Germain*, he went to meet the Duke in order to clear himself; the Duke of Guise being not restrained by the Sacredness of the Place, drew his Sword and pursued him up the Stairs of the Castle, and could scarce be hinder'd by Thoré, whom he met in his way; from running Ventabran through and through.

The Queen Mother's Devices for prevailing against the said Duke. The King incensed at this Audaciousness of the Duke of Guise, complained of it to the Queen his Mother; she excused the Fact, and for appeasing her Son, she caused Ventabran to be arrested: she went farther, she pretended, that

(*u*) Thuan. lib. 57. pag. 978, 979.

that the Prisoner had confessed in secret, that he had been suborned by the Duke of Montmorancy for murdering the Duke of Guise, but that afterwards he had recanted; and whereas the Duke of Montmorancy insisted that the Prisoner should be more strictly examined upon that account, the Duke of Guise, who was unwilling to have the Reasons of his secret Hatred against Ventabran known to the Publick, prevailed with the Queen to have him released from his Confinement, upon condition that he should forbear from Court; and the Duke of Montmorancy being affronted at it, retir'd likewise into his own House of *Chantilly*.

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

But the worst of all this was, that Catharine took from thence a pretence for raising greater Jealousies in the King's mind against his Brother D'Alençon; for she told him, that he could not any longer doubt of his Designs, since Ventabran having attempted to murder the Duke of Guise, the main Support of his Crown, by the Subornation of the Montmorancians, he might depend upon it, that if he did appoint his Brother D'Alençon as his Lieutenant-General in the Kingdom, he would see the Government of it snatch'd out of his own hands. Though the King was moved by these Remonstrances, nevertheless, as he knew that his Mother was entirely devoted to the Faction of the Guises, whom he hated as much as the Montmorancians, and that she spoke not so much out of hatred against these, as out of love for the first, he was still at a stand what to do, whether he should give the Lieutenantancy of the Kingdom to D'Alençon, or expose himself to a new Civil War, from which he was much averse.

He was in that anxiety, when the Impatience of Guitry altered entirely his Mind; appearing

Alençon's Plot discovered.

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. on a sudden, on the 20th of February near *St. Germain*, with 200 Horse, others say 300, in order to carry away from Court the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, and to accompany them into some place of Security of their own chusing (x).

For understanding this, one must know, that by the latter end of the last Year the Politicians and the Reformed had agreed together in December last, that they would rise in arms on a sudden, in several Parts of the Kingdom, and seize upon as many Places as they could, especially that they would procure the Duke of Alençon's Escape from Court. As to the time appointed, I must own, that there is a great Ambiguity in the Relations of Historians, for most part agree, that Shrove-Tuesday was appointed for the Execution of their Scheme, because of the Diversions of the day; but then they add, that Shrove-Tuesday in that Year fell on the 10th of March, which spoils all; for if the 30th of May, when Charles died, was Whitsunday, consequently the 20th of February ought to be Shrove-Tuesday that Year. The Biographer of Du Plessis Mornay speaks only of the 10th of March, without mentioning Shrove-Tuesday. Others say, that it was some of the last Days of Shrove-Tide, without mentioning the Day of the Month. So we are left in the dark as to the precise time appointed; and all that we can say is, that it was not before Shrove-Tuesday, nor after the tenth of March. However La Nouë was charged with the Affairs of *Poitou, la Rochelle, Country of Aulnix, Xaintonge, Angouleme*, he went to *Rochelle*, where being arrived by the beginning of January, he prevailed with the *Rochelers* to enter into the general Association as above

(x) Thuanus *ibid.* & pag. 980.

above said, and was acknowledg'd Lieutenant-General of the Provinces above-named, under a Chief, whose Name was still a Secret. Du Pleffis Mornay took upon himself the care of procuring the Duke of Alençon's Escape; and Colombieres that of causing an Infurrection in *Normandy*, and so on.

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII

Now, their Preparations would have been attended with better Success, had they not alter'd their time appointed, or had Guitry submitted himself to that Alteration (*). But for some private Concerns of his own, (he was told that a Constable, with his Bailiffs, were coming to arrest him for Debts) he would not tarry any longer, he sent word to La Nouë to rise in arms, because he was going to execute his part. He came indeed, as abovesaid, near St. Germain, and sent Captain Callitrope with a Letter to the Duke of Alençon, acquainting his Highness, that he was ready, and exhorting him to improve that opportunity for his Deliverance.

The Duke, with his Council, wondered at this Guitry's Resolution, and resolv'd at first to follow his Advice, and to set out the next Morning with the King of Navarre, &c. on pretence of a Hunting-match, and to go directly to *Mantes*, where De Buhi, Brother to Du Pleffis Mornay, was in garrison. Accordingly the said Du Pleffis received Orders of the Duke to be ready early in the Morning to lead them thither.

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But

(*) This is only a Guess of mine, that an Alteration had been made in their Scheme as to the time, whereto Guitry refused to comply, and seems to me the best way for reconciling the Historians: At first they appointed Shrove-Tuesday, but for some reasons, they thought proper to put it off to the 10th of March. Guitry, who knew his own Circumstances, had very likely dispos'd of his Affairs in such a manner, that he could set out on Shrove-Tuesday, and no later, and possibly could not alter his own Scheme.

Charles IX. But a little after the Duke altered his Mind, at La Molle's Persuasion, considering that the number of Guitry's Troops was too great not to be discovered, and too small to protect him against the Pursuits of the Court; and so he resolved to stay, and to wait for a better opportunity.

In the mean while La Molle, who knew very well his Master's Intentions, discovered the Plot to the Queen-Mother, in order to deserve some favour, as he thought, by revealing what could not be kept concealed any longer (y).

At this News, the Queen, in order to exasperate the King more and more against his Brother, feigned to be in the greatest fright, and caused all the Apartments of St. Germain's Palace, and all the Corners thereof to be thoroughly searched, even the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarre's Beds. She advised the King to depart immediately from so dangerous a place, which was of a very bad Omen, and fatal, as she pretended, grounded upon some Predictions of her Astrologers.

Therefore the Court departed in a great hurry and confusion, the King laid that Night at the Count of Retz in the Suburb of *St. Honoré*, and a few days after he went to the Castle of *Vincennes*, with the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarre, who were not as yet under Arrest, but very narrowly watched. Soon after came the News of Insurrections in several Parts of the Kingdom. In *Poitou*, La Nouë had surpris'd *Lusignan* and *Mesle*, by the means of *Loche* and *Baroniere*, and *Fontenay*, by the means of *St. Stephen* and *Bessé*. He fortified these Places, and put in them a strong Garrison. In *Xaintonge* and

(y) Vie de M. de la Nouë, pag. 110, 111, 112, 113. Vie de M. Du Pleffis Liv. I. pag. 25, 26, 27. *Théan.* Lib. 57. pag. 980, 981.

Great Confusion of the Court at the Discovery of the Plot.

Insurrection: in Poitou, &c.

and *Angoumois*, he surprized likewise *Pons*, Charles
Tonnay-Charente, *Roian*, *Talmont*, *St. John de* IX.
l'Angle, *Rochefort* and *Bouteville*, by the means ^{1574.} Pope Gre-
of *De Pons de la Caze* Lord of *Mirambeau*, gory XIII.
John de Plaffac, of the illustrious House of de
Pons, to whom adjoined themselves *Rochevou-*
cault de Monguyon, *Usson*, *Bertoville*, *Sau-*
jon, and another, all Gentlemen of great For-
titude and Courage. These Conquests were
made without any great Resistance; and *La*
Nouë being a Man conspicuous for his Mode-
ration, treated the Inhabitants thereof with
great mildness, without imposing upon them any
new Taxes for the Maintenance of the Garrisons,
which were paid by other means.

Amidst all these Successes, happened the Death
of *La Caze* Lord of *Mirambeau*, who was killed
with a Musket-ball before a Castle, as the Be-
sieged asked for a Parley. The great Qualities,
moral and civil, of that Gentleman made him the
more regretted by all those who were acquainted
with him; but especially by *La Nouë*, who
had a great Value for him, because of a Confor-
mity of Temper and Inclinations, that was be-
tween them.

If the Reformed were unfortunate in *Velay*, *In Velay,*
they were recompensed by their Progress in *Vi-* *Vivarez,*
varetz; the Garrison of *Villeneuve* having routed *&c.*
some of the King's Troops, took *Aubenas*, and
whereas the Garrison of that Place, was compo-
sed for the most part of the Murderers of *Lions*,
who had executed the Massacre upon the Re-
formed, they were put to the Sword every one;
they took likewise the Castle of *St. Pyrauld*,
Audance and *Maleval* in *Forez*, whereby they
surrounded the City of *Lions*, and reduced it to
great straits. Therefore *Mandelot*, Governour
thereof, having assembled some Forces, went

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. and besieged the Castle of *St. Pyrauld*, and the Succours expected from the Lord of *St. Romain* coming too late, the Castle was taken by storm, and all its Fortifications were demolished.

Vain Attempt of the Royalists upon Nimes. St. Jaille attempted upon *Nimes*; but he was unsuccessful, and a large Sum of Money, which he had paid to *Deroni*, a Captain of the City, for admitting him into it, was lost to him, because *Deroni*, who had nothing else in view but to deceive him, acted in concert with *St. Romain*, whom, from the very first day he had acquainted with *De Jaille's* Propositions, and had received of him his Instructions how to behave himself, which he had exactly followed.

Damville's Conduct in Languedoc. *Damville* Governour of *Languedoc*, understanding what was hatching against him at Court, and knowing by some intercepted Letters, that *Martinengue*, who had been sent to join himself with *St. Sulpice* and *Villeroy*, had Orders to kill him, if they could not arrest him, he surprized *Montpelier*, *Lunel*, *Beaucaire* and *Pezenas*; however, forbearing from any other open Act of Hostility, by which Conduct he lost *Pezenas*, which was sold to the Royalists by the Captain whom he had intrusted with the Guard thereof, and of a Daughter of his of two Years old; the said Captain saying, That he desired to have a Master who stood by one Party, and should not be wavering and irresolute as *Damville* was (z).

And of Montbrun in Dauphiné. In *Dauphiné*, the whole Country was in a dread, by the frequent IncurSIONS of *Montbrun*, who made several Conquests, though he miscarried in his Attempt upon *Montelimar*, which cost very dear to the Reformed Inhabitants thereof. Such was the State of Affairs in the remotest Provinces.

They

They were not in a better Condition in *Normandy*, tho' nearer the Court, where *Colombieres*, *De Guitry*, and *De Sey*, waiting for the Arrival of *Montgomery* with a Fleet from *Jersey*, surprized in the mean while *St. Lo* and *Domfront*. The Count being landed at *St. Lo*, with *De Lorges* his Son, and *De Refuge Galar-don* his Son-in-law, marched directly to besiege *Carentan* with what Troops he could assemble, and three days after the Place surrendered it self; from thence he went to *Valognes*, which surrendered likewise, and by that means he opened a free Passage from one of these Places to another; he sent Provisions to *Carentan*, which he intended to fortify (a).

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.
And of Colombieres, Montgomery, &c. in Normandy.

At this News the King being astonished, set on foot three Armies; one against *Montgomery*, under the Command of *Matignon* Deputy-Governour of *Normandy*; another against *La Nouë*, under the Command of the Duke of *Montpensier*; and the third to act in the southern Provinces, under the Command of the Prince *Dauphin*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*; but before we proceed any farther, we must relate what they were doing at Court.

The fifth Civil War.

The Queen-Mother failed not to publish in the Kingdom and abroad, that a very odious Plot had been discovered against the King's Person and his Government; that the Plotters intended to murder the King, and to seize upon his Crown. Whereupon the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, in order to clear themselves of such a heinous Imputation, published a Writing on the 24th of March, at the Queen's instance, who thought thereby to put in a dread all those who were any wise concerned in the Association, when they should see themselves dis-

Alençon and Navarre declare themselves against the Plot.

vowed

(a) Idem ibidem.

Charles IX. ^{1574.} Pope Gregory XIII. vowed and forsaken, by those whom they thought would have been their Chiefs. She intended likewise to cast by that means the whole Odium of the Enterprize upon the Marshal Duke of Montmorancy, and the Marshal of Cossé, whom she had resolved to arrest Prisoners. So she caused the Princes her Son and Son-in-law, to declare, That having understood that they were aspersed in publick, as if they, forgetting their Dignity and Duty, had been any wise Accessories to the Plot of *St. Germain*, they had humbly required the King's leave for giving account to the Publick of their Will and Intention. Therefore they desired their Friends to be firmly persuaded, that it was utterly false that they ever had any hand at all in the said Plot, nor ever thought of such a thing, which was very far from their Mind, being, on the contrary, ready to spend their Lives, Faculties, and Interest for the King and Kingdom's Welfare, and to oppose with all their might, the Efforts of all those that endeavour'd to disturb the Publick's Peace and Tranquillity, as they were bound by all the Ties of Nature, and all divine and human Rights. Which Declaration however was of no effect, and served only to let the Publick know the Captivity wherein the Princes were detained.

*The Prince
of Condé's
Escape.*

The Prince of Condé was gone into his Government of *Picardy*, and would have shared the same fate as the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarr, had he not prevented it by a reasonable Escape; the Lords of Thoré and Meru, Brothers to the Duke of Montmorancy, made likewise their Escape. The Prince of Condé retired to *Strasbourg*, where he abjured publicly the Roman Religion, declaring that he had been forced to embrace it against his own Conscience.

The

The King having had patience till now, flew out on a sudden into a violent Passion, and ordered a strict and severe Enquiry to be made into that Conspiracy; for so he called the Duke of Ajençon's Correspondence with the Reformed and Politicians; and the first President Thuanus, and the President Hennequin were deputed for that purpose. Therefore having begun their Proceedings, Brinon, a Man of a good and honourable Family, but much reduced in Paris, and thereby forced to turn an Informer for getting his Bread, caused many to be arrested Prisoners, several of whom were only upon Suspicion.

Joseph de Boniface, Lord of La Molle, the Duke's Favourite, and Annibal Count of Coconnas a Piemontese, Lawrence du Bois Lord of St. Martin of the Stones, Peter de Grantrye Steward of the King's Household, and Counsellor of State, Francis de Tourtray, who had been Secretary to Grandchamp, Brother to de Grantrye, while he was Embassador at Constantinople, were arrested. Thoré, Meru, the Viscount of Turenne, John Laffin de Beauvais la Noce, and Grandchamp himself escaped by flight.

On the 11th of April, La Molle and Coconnas were interrogated; the first at *Paris* by Thuanus first President, upon 21 Articles exhibited against him: he denied them all, or said, that he had no Knowledge of these things. Coconnas was brought on the same day to the Castle of *Vincennes*, before the King, and deceived by that difference put between him and La Molle, he flattered himself that he would easily escape, if he complied only with the Queen's Desire, therefore he confessed more than he was asked, and even more than he knew, in order to please their Majesties and to save his Life,

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.
Court's Measures for trying the pretended Conspirators.

La Molle, Coconnas, &c. arrested.

And tried.

Charles
IX.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Two days after, the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarr, whom Coconnas had charged, delivered their Declaration in Writing, because their Quality exempted them from following the common course in these Occasions ;

*Alençon
and Na-
varr's dif-
ferent An-
swers.*

The first answered like an obedient Son, that makes a general but most humble Confession, and was ready to furnish his Mother with whatever Crimes she could desire, for compassing the Ruin of all his Friends, Clients, and Servants. The other answered as a King Captive as to his Person, (for he and the Duke had Guards set upon them) but always free as to his Dignity ; he bitterly inveighed against the Queen in her own Presence, and before the Chancellor and other Commissaries, complaining of the many Plots laid against his Life, even from his Cradle, of the many Wrongs and Injustices, of the many Affronts put upon him since his coming to Court, whereby his Patience had been quite worn out, therefore he had resolved to fly from a Place wherein he could not live any longer with honour ; and indeed, says he, what Security could I expect in a Place, where the capital Enemies of my House bore the sway ? where the Lorrainers are raised to the highest pitch of Favour ; where the Duke of Guise, at the Recommendation of the King of *Poland*, is to enjoy the Dignity of Constable ; where Innocence can find no Security or Protection against the Frauds, Calumnies, Ambushes, &c. of the Wicked ; where, in a word, I do receive every day friendly Advices to provide for myself, because the Duke of Alençon, and the Prince of Condé and I are destined to a certain Death ? He added several other Truths, which put the Queen out of countenance ; and he reiterated the same things five days after at a second Interrogation

before

before her Majesty, the Cardinal of Bourbon, Charles the Chancellor, and the Commissaries (b). 1X.

Though that Prince spoke with so great assurance, nevertheless he was almost persuaded that he was undone, and that this was only a Device for hastening his Ruin ; and I do find in Agricola (*Le Laboureur*) that the said Prince, in order to avert the threatening Danger, if possible, had advised the Duke of Alençon to feign to be sick, and to send for his Mother, and then, under pretence that they both had some Secret to tell her, they would desire her Majesty to send her Attendants out of the Room, and then they would strangle her. That his Reasons were that of their own Preservation ; the King's Death which was not far off ; the great Interest which their Friends would get thereby ; and that the political Views which engaged her to renounce the Laws of Nature and of Blood, for procuring the Destruction of her own Son and her Son-in-law, dispensed them by a much greater Consideration than that of Ambition to govern, from feeling any Horror for an Action, whereby two Princes, necessary to the State, were saved by the Death of her who disturbed the Peace thereof, and hasten'd its Ruin. The Duke (*continues my Author*) wanted Courage for the Execution, as well as Discretion to conceal that Advice from his Mother ; for some time after he told her of it, and it is the true Cause of the insuperable Hatred which that Princess conceived against the King of Navarr ; to gratify which, she made no scruple afterwards to conspire with the Guises against her own darling Henry III. when she saw that he had no Issue ; and that, for hindering Henry IV. from succeeding

1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

(b) Thuan. lib. 57. 983, 4, 5. Agricola Additions aux Mem. de Casteln. Tom. II. liv. 6. ch. 2. pag. 354—581.

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII.

ceeding to the Crown, and for placing upon the Throne Henry Duke of Lorraine, her Grandson, by her Daughter the Duchefs of Lorraine (c). But, let it be said with all the Reverence due to the Memory of the judicious Author, such a Plot is of too black a Dye, and too base and odious in itself, to have ever entered into so noble and generous a Soul as that of the King of Navarr. Had King Charles himself called his Mother to give account of her Administration; had he delivered her to the Power of the Law to try her, and do with her as the Law directed; had he delivered her to suffer the Punishment, which her manifold and most heinous Crimes deserved, he had a Right to do it, as supreme Magistrate, obliged in that Character to do Justice without any Partiality; nevertheless his Behaviour, in that respect, would have been justly censured, and in his own Time, and throughout all the Ages to come; nay, that would have compleated his wicked Character, as Agrippina's Murder compleated Nero's. How much more so, had the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarr, who were but Subjects, attempted such a thing? Therefore I may wish, that Agricola had named his Authorities for what he says; he speaks of certain Memoirs, but he don't name the Authors, or from what hand he had them, he had left us in the dark not able to judge of their Authenticity, but inclined to question the Veracity, not of Agricola, but of his Memoirs. A Charge so grave as this must be grounded upon the best Foundation, especially when the whole Character of a Prince contradicts it. This is nothing but what, in justice, I owe to Henry IVth's Memory.

To

To make an end of La Molle, Coconnas, and others Trials, it is to be observed, that, though whatever could be inferred from the several Depositions of the Witnesses, amounted to no more than a Design of helping the Duke of Alençon to escape from Court, and of obstructing the King of Poland's Return into the Kingdom, for placing the said Duke upon the Throne after King Charles's Death, nevertheless they were condemned as guilty of High Treason. La Molle was charged with having compassed the King's Death by Magick Arts, because of a Wax-Image, which, as they pretended at Court, had been done for King Charles, and was pierced through the Heart with a Needle; but La Molle says to the last, that it had been done for a young Lady in *Provence*, which he loved desperately, in order to engage her to return love for love; and that Cosmo Rugieri, a famous Astrologer of that time, had been the Artificer thereof. However De la Molle and Coconnas were condemned to be beheaded, after having been put to an extraordinary Torture; for the Queen neglected nothing to force them to confess that they had conspired against the King's Life. Tourtray was condemned to be hanged, (Thuanus, and those who have copied after him, say, to be broke upon the Wheel.) The Sentence was executed with all the Rigour of the Law on the 30th of April. Cosmo, by the Queen's favour, who was passionately fond of such sort of Men, was condemned to the Gallies, but lived at *Marseilles* with as much Freedom and Ease, as he could have done at *Paris*; Grantrye was spared by the favour of the Bishop of Limoges, Brother to his Mother.

Charles IX.

1574.

Pope Gregory XIII.

La Molle,
Coconnas,
Tourtray
condemned,

And executed.

What is very observable in the Depositions of these pretended Criminals, was, that most of them

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. them agreed in this point, that the King had received a Packet from *Spain*, and another from *Rome*; by the first, Philip II. advised him to put to death the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarr; by the second, the Pope sent a Dispensation and Absolution for that Fratricide.

The Marshals of Montmorancy and Cofsé arrested. Tho' there was no proof against the Duke of Montmorancy and the Marshal of Cofsé, nevertheless the Queen seeing the King grow worse and worse every day, and being certain, that his Death was very near, being afraid, lest these Lords should obstruct the King of Poland's Return, raised Suspicions and Jealousies in the King's Mind, who, in the condition he was in, was more apt than ever to receive those Impressions of Distrust and Fear, which his Mother was willing to make upon him, and extorted from him an Order for them to repair to Court, which was sent to the Duke of Montmorancy at *Chantilly*, by *Torcy*; they obey'd at the first Summons, notwithstanding their Ladies and Friends Intreaties. Being arrived at *Vincennes*, they were lodged in the Castle, in full liberty; and tho' they received Warnings of their Friends to make speedily their Escape, if they had a mind to avoid the Danger, yet trusting to their Innocence, they neglected these wholesome Advices, and three days after their Arrival they were arrested Prisoners by the Viscount D'Auchy, who brought them to the Bastile at *Paris*, to the great Joy of the Parisians, who offered and furnished eight hundred Men for the Prisoners Guard.

Operations of the three Armies. While the Court was tossed by these Commotions, the three Armies under the Command of their respective Generals were in action in the several Provinces wherein they had been sent, with various Success. The Duke of Montpensier's Army

Army made at first very small progress in *Poitou*. Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. Biron was in *Xaintonge* at *St. John d'Angely*, spying the first opportunity to do service to the King, or rather to the Queen, and not being able to do better, he made an attempt upon *Tonnay-Charente*; he was in hopes of taking it by the Intelligence he had with a Publick-Notary of the Place, but the Traitor having been discovered, was seized and punished according to his deserts, and his Accomplices fled away, whereby Biron was disappointed; and obliged to retreat. The Duke of Montpensier having sojourned a few days at *Parthenai* and *Coulonges*; was come to *St. Hermine*; to draw *La Nouë*; if he could, to an Engagement; which *La Nouë* declining, he sent part of his Army under the Command of *Puygaillard*, to besiege *Talmont*; and he himself went to besiege *Fontenay*, whereof *St. Stephen* was Commander, from whom he had received of late, a great Affront. *Talmont* having capitulated, *Puigalliard* led his Troops to *Montpensier's* Army, before *Fontenay*, but for all that; after two general Assaults, wherein he lost many of his best Troops, he was forced to raise the Siege.

Before this, the Court not forgetting its old Artifices, had hired two Assassines, *MAUREVEL*, and one *St. MARTIN*, to murder *La Nouë*; but tho' they came with that design to *Poitou*, nevertheless they could not execute it (d).

In *Languedoc*, the War was more fierce than any where else; the Reformed being Masters of several of the best Places, and being confirmed by the hopes which the Prince of Condé gave them of speedy Succours from the Protestant Princes of Germany, they rejected, as dangerous, all Propositions of Peace made by the Court.

The

(d) Thuan. lib. 57. p. 986.

Charles
IX.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Prince being arrived at *Strasbourg*, as above-
said, resolved to follow the steps of his Fa-
ther, and meeting in that City a Deputy of the
Reformed in *Languedoc*, who was treating for a
certain number of Reisters, he sent Gasques to
France, with Letters of the 4th of May, directed
to the Reformed of *Languedoc*, and to the Lord
of *St. Romain*, one of their Governours; where-
by he gave them notice of his and *Thoré's* safe
Arrival in *Germany*, and promising to undertake
their Defence, as his Father had done, and to
send them the Auxiliaries as soon as they had
remitted the necessary Sums for that purpose.
Thoré wrote by the same Messenger to his Bro-
ther *Damville*, and used his best Endeavours to
persuade him to declare himself openly now, and
to avert the threatning Danger he was in, to be
served in the same manner as their Brother of
Montmorency was, and may be, to fare worse.
But *Damville*, tho' moved by these Exhortations,
was afraid lest the Marshal Duke his Brother
should be made answerable for all the steps he
might take, therefore he was in a great perplexity,
and wavered between two Parties: he wrote to
the King, and made great Protestations of Fide-
lity and Obedience, declaring that the Duke his
Brother would certainly make his Innocence ap-
pear in a little time; but whatever should be his
Case and his Fate, he was in hopes that he would
not be involved under the same Condemnation,
that he was ready to clear himself before any im-
partial Judges, and to resign his Government and
Marshal's Staff into the King's hands, to dispose
of them as his Majesty pleased, after he had suf-
ficiently evinced his Innocence. But his Deputy
arriving at Court when the King drew near to
his end, that Affair was superseded till after his
Death. As to the Army under the Command
of

of the Prince Dauphin, Son to the Duke of Montpensier, it made very little progress either in *Languedoc* or *Dauphiné*, till after the King's Death, and therefore I refer the Relation of them to the next Volume.

Charles IX.

1574.

Pope Gregory XIII.



That of Normandy

But in *Normandy*, Matignon and Fervaques having joined their Forces together, came to *St. Lo*, from whence they came to *Damfront*, where they had understood that *Montgomery* was, and besieged it. At first, the Besieged made a brave resistance, but seeing that the Place was not tenable, some of them being disheartened, forsook the Count, and surrendered themselves to the Royal Army. The Queen-Mother having notice that the said Count was in the Nets, sent more Troops to reinforce Matignon, and sent likewise Orders to those that besieged *St. Lo*, to march directly to *Damfront*, the Castle whereof was battered with six Cannons, for five hours together, on the 23d of May, and made a Breach of 45 Paces; then the Count saw himself deserted by most part of his Men, nevertheless he withstood a furious Assault for five hours together, wherein the Royalists were worsted; but at last, seeing that he was almost alone in the Place, with some wounded, and that there was no Ammunition or Provisions in it, he yielded to the strong Sollicitations of Vassef, one of his near Relations, who served in the Royal Army, and surrendered upon Capitulation, that their Lives should be safe, and that they should march out with their Clothes, their Swords and Daggers. But as for himself, he should remain for some time in the hands of Matignon and Vassef, and that he should be treated honourably, and his Life safe.

On the 26th of May, Matignon and Vassef went to fetch the Count out of the Castle, and

Montgomery taken by Matignon.

Charles IX. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII. the rest marched out on the same day. None of the Capitulation-Articles were observed, for several were killed, some hanged, and the rest, three or four excepted, were stript. The Count himself, a few days after, was sent to Paris by the Queen's Orders, and there tried, condemned, and executed; but this happened at the beginning of the next Reign.

The King drawing near his end, declares his Mother Regent.

Now the King was a dying, and on the 29th of May, the Queen-Mother, in order to settle her Authority, caused Letters to be sent in the King's Name, to the Governours of Provinces, notifying unto them, that during his Sickness, being not able to take care of the Government, he intrusted his Mother with it, and commanded them to obey her in every thing as himself, and in case he should die, to pay a strict Obedience to her Commands, till his Brother the King of *Poland* should arrive in *France*. The next day, 30th of May, which was Whit-Sunday, the Queen not thinking these Letters of the 29th sufficient to declare her Regent of the Kingdom, during the King of *Poland*'s absence, ordered Chancellor Birague to speak to the King about it (*e*). The King, who was in his Agony, sent for the Secretaries of his Commands, and the Captains of his Guards, and bid them to do whatever the Queen his Mother should command them, and to obey her Orders as his own; then the

(*e*) Papyrius Masso and Brantome, who had transcribed him, and some others, say that he did this of his own accord, and had sent for Birague, &c. Thuanus says only, that the Letters-Patent constituting the Queen-Mother Regent, were drawn on Whit-Sunday, without specifying whether he did it by his own accord, or by the Impulsion of others; I have followed those who say that he did it by Birague's Impulsion, because, methinks it is not likely that being in such Agonies, as it is said he was in, he could think of any such things:

the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarr were sent for, to let them know that the Queen-Mother was intrusted with the Regency of the Kingdom during the King's Sickness, and if he died, during his Successor's absence. Letters-Patent of it were drawn out of hand, which however, could not be registered in Parliament till the 3d of June, because of the Holidays ; and for gratifying the Queen's Ambition, it was inserted in the Acts, that the reading, publishing, and registering of the said Letters had been done at the King's Attorney-General's Instance ; then the Queen took upon her the Title of Regent, and the supreme Administration of the Kingdom, being required so to do, by the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarr, who were forced to it, as well as by the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, which that Court had deputed for that purpose.

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Mean while, the King after having suffered the bitterest Pains, and the severest Agonies, died at three in the Afternoon, on the very same day that the Letters-Patent had been drawn, having lived 23 Years. eleven Months, and three Days, being born on the 27th of June, 1550 (f). He came to the Crown on the 5th of December, 1560.

King Charles's Death.

That Prince was born with all those Qualifications requisite to make a Hero, when they are curiously cultivated and carefully improved to their true and right use ; but his Mother's immoderate and criminal Ambition incited her to neglect his Education, and to trust him into the hands of Persons of bad Principles and bad Morals ;

His Character.

M m 3

(f) Thuanus his Copist, d'Aubigné, and some others, say that he was in the 25th Year of his age, and nevertheless they all agree that he was born on the 27th of June, 1550.

Charles IX. rals, and to entertain him in all manner of Dissoluteness.

1574. He was born at the Castle of St. Germain en
 Pope Gregory XIII. Laye, on the 27th of June 1550, at half an hour
 after Five; it is said that Michel de *Salon*, sur-
 named *NOSTRADAMUS*, having cast his Nativity, foretold that his Reign would be bloody and unfortunate, which was verified by the event. Maximilian, then Arch-Duke of Austria, was his Godfather, and he was christened by the Name of Maximilian, which was afterwards changed into that of Charles.

He was tall, but a little crooked, and carried his Head awry, his Looks were sharp, his Nose hawked, his Complexion was pale and leaded, his Hair black, his Neck something long, he was full chested, all his Body well proportioned, his Legs excepted, which some say, were too big, and was born with a strong Constitution, which he spoiled intirely by his too frequent and too violent Exercises, as we shall say.

He was naturally of a great Spirit, of a quick and piercing Wit, of a sharp Judgment, of a ready Memory, of an incredible Activity, and had a fine, noble, and rich way of expressing himself.

His Writing-Master was one Peter Hammon, of *Blois*, who was afterwards hanged at *Paris* for his Religion, during the Civil Wars. Amiot Abbot of *Bellefane*, and then Bishop of *Auxerre*, well known by his Version of Plutarch's Lives, was his Tutor, he loved him intirely, and shewed always great regard for him, tho' he jeered him sometimes upon his Avarice, and great Penuriousness, living mostly upon Neat's Tongues. He learned the Grammar under him, and liked Learning well enough in his Childhood, but as soon as he ascended the Throne, he neglected his

his Studies, nevertheless he had always a great regard for the Learned. Amongst the Sciences, he was particularly a great Admirer of Musick and Poetry; besides the ordinary Salary which his Band of Musicians received, he rewarded them with very rich Livings, especially one LE ROY an Eunuch, who excelled in his Art. Amongst the Poets, he had a great value for DAURAT, who wrote in Latin, and for RON- SARD; the most celebrated amongst the French Poets of his Age, and JOHN ANTHONY BAIF, Son of Lazarus; his Gifts to them were but small, but frequent, and his reason for it was, to keep them always in play, and oblige them to work constantly, for he compared Poets to fine Horses, which must be fed but not fattened: he himself made Verses tolerably good. As to his moral Qualities, he was liberal, magnificent, very sober, he eat but very little, and abstained from Wine since he had been once put out of order with it, he drank commonly but Water or Hipocras. He slept but very little, and very often he was up before Midnight. Tho' his Court was the Receptacle of all the Filthiness in the World, I don't find that he had been much inclined to Lewdness; he had but one Mistress, which he constantly loved, MARY TOUCHET was her Name, Daughter (not of an Apothecary of Orleans, as almost all the Historians have said) but of John Touchet Sieur de Beauvais and du Quillart, one of the King's Council, and private Lieutenant of the Bailiwick and Presidialship of Orleans (g), she was a perfect Beauty; the King had a Son by her named Charles of Valois, Count of Auvergne and Ponthieu, Duke of Angouleme. It is true that before his Marriage, he used very often to enter

Charles IX.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

M m 4

into

(g) Agricola addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. II. Liv. vii. p. 605.

Charles IX. ^{1574.} *Pope Gregory XIII.* into the Apartments of the Maids of Honour, and other Ladies of the Court, in the Morning, and to whip them in their Beds, but this was a Frolick of his. He was constant enough in his Friendship, whereof he gave a great Instance in behalf of Ambrosius Paré his first Surgeon, and of his own Nurse; tho' they both professed the Reformed Religion, nevertheless he had always for them the same regard, the same Affection; and took them under his Protection at the time of the Massacre, for he sent for the first, on the first Night, and bad him to stay in his Wardrobe, saying, that it was not reasonable that a Man who could be useful to a little World, should be massacred, he never required of him to change his Religion. As to his Nurse, he was always so kind to her that he never refused her any thing which she could ask, either for herself or for her Relations and Friends; he left her always at full liberty as to her Religion, only he desired that she would acknowledge her Errors for the good of her own Soul: Papyrius Masso says, that she renounced her Religion at Bartholomew's-time, being frightened by the Massacres; but Brantome, and after him Agricola, say, that she was not in earnest, and did it only out of Complaisance to the King: I am surprized that her Name hath not been recorded by any of the Historians that I have seen, either Roman Catholicks or Reformed; I find only that she was a Country-Woman, very subtle and cunning, but likewise very civil and affable, and that she acquired so much Wit and Sagacity at Court, that she became able to judge of every thing. I have made mention of her in the second Volume, when I spoke of the Battel of Dreux.

Till now we have seen nothing in King Charles, but what is either commendable, or indifferent in itself,

itself, or at least tolerable in a Prince. But his Vices must not be concealed, tho' most part of them had been contracted either by Education and bad Examples, or by his way of living, and violent Exercises. He was naturally passionate and cholerick, but that Disposition was not only fomented in him, but also increased to an excessive degree by his Exercises, especially Hunting, Forging and Hammering. He had so strong a Passion for the first, that he forgot eating, drinking, sleeping, for it, and was Days and Nights rambling in the Woods, and sounding the Horn himself, he was very skilful in catching of the wild Beasts, and composed a Book about the Train and Equipage belonging to Venery, and about the means of catching the wild Beasts, and hunting them out of their Holds; the Book was translated into Latin by his Orders, but I don't know whether it had ever been published. When he returned from hunting, he went to his Forge, and there he worked as hard as any Blacksmith's Journeyman could do, and put himself all in a sweat, to make sometimes a Horse-Shoe, sometimes a Gun, at other times other things, according to his fancy; these Exercises stirred up his Passion to such a degree, that he was furious and mad in his Anger: and his being almost continually bent against the Beasts, which he was used to draw, and dip his Arms into their Blood, made him cruel, bloody, and blood-thirsty, not only against the Beasts, but even against Men, (notwithstanding what Papyrius Masso says to the contrary) for tho' it don't appear that he had ever killed any Man with his own Hands, how many Executioners had he not in his pay? And what shows that Eagerness, was his going to look upon the Admiral hanging at *Montfaucon*, to look upon Briquebaut and Cavagnes when they

were

Charles IX.

1574.

Pope Gregory XIII.

Charles
IX.1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

were executed, and causing Candles to be put all over the Gibbet, that he might see what Mouths and Faces they made in dying, for firing over the River *Seine* upon his poor Subjects that endeavoured to escape from the Massacre, either by swimming or otherwise: Indeed if these are not some of the greatest Instances of Cruelty in a Prince, I don't know what is. He was used to kill Hogs, to draw them, and to dress them himself, as well as any Butcher could have done; all these things heated his natural Dispositions, and prompted him to the most violent Acts. He was one of the most heinous Swearers and Blasphemers, this he had learnt of his Governors Cipierre, and the Count of Retz, especially the last, but had so far improved that base and wicked Habit, that he never spoke two Words, but one was a Curse or an Oath, and he took that for an Ornament of Speech, rather than for a Vice; from whence it came to pass that he made no scruple of forswearing himself frequently, and that he had no great regard for his most sacred Promises and Engagements: he was in that respect a plague to his Kingdom, for the Courtiers following his Example, the City conformed itself to the Court, and the Provinces to the chief City of the Kingdom. He was thoroughly Master in the Art of dissembling, so well he had improved in his Mother's School! Nay, he carried it so far, that according to Thuanus himself, who, speaking of the Massacre, pretends that Charles was naturally so choleric and passionate, that it was impossible for him to dissemble so long, and yet he says, when he relates his last Farewell to his Mother, *IN EO ETIAM DISSIMULATIONE USUS; QUIPPE CUM CONSTARET, EUM SI DIUTIUS VIXISSET, &c.* that is, wherein he dissembled likewise, seeing that it is certain, that had he lived

lived any longer, he was resolved to make use of his own Judgment and to govern himself, and to remove his Mother from all manner of Administration in his Kingdom. He tells us, some lines before, that he had resolved to send his Mother away for a time, on the specious pretence of paying a Visit to her beloved Son the King of Poland. We need not observe, that his Reign was one of the most unhappy and miserable that had ever been seen in France; but to do him justice, we must own, that it was rather the Fault of others than his own; he was sensible, but too late, of the bad Administration of his Mother; he sadly felt the pernicious Effects of the bloody Counsels of his bad Counsellors, and was fully resolved, as he said, to remove them out of Council. He knew at last, that the Civil Wars which had raged in his Kingdom during his Reign, had been kindled by a Spirit of Faction, rather than of Religion, and was resolved to destroy the House of Guise and Montmorancy, for he hated them both equally, without any regard to the Justice of the Pretensions of the last, who certainly deserved better of the Crown than the first. But his Death put a stop to all his Designs. He was saying two or three days before, that he was very glad to die without any male Issue, because he knew by his own Experience, how miserable is the Condition of a King minor, and how lamentable would be the Fate of the Kingdom, under the Government of a Regent, or other Administrators, that the State of the Kingdom was such, that it required a Man and not a Child to govern it. Nevertheless, he had no great Opinion of his Brother the King of Poland, for he said, that the great hopes conceived of him not only by the French but also by foreign Princes, would be certainly frustrated, and that he would be known,

such

Charles
IX.
1574.
Pope Gre-
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IX.
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Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

such as he was, as soon as he should ascend the Throne. Tho' it was thought that he spoke those Words out of Jealousy against his Brother, nevertheless they were verified by the Event. He was taken ill of a Fever in October, 1573, just when his Brother set out for Poland, and not two days after he had been in so violent a Passion against his Mother and Brother, which occasioned the Report of his having been poisoned. AGRICOLA, having related what Anguishes the Queen-Mother was in at the parting of her beloved Son, the great Apprehensions she had of losing her Credit and Authority, leaves his Reader at full Liberty to think whatever he pleases concerning King Charles's Death. However, he suffered the most exquisite Pains, and was seen almost swimming in his own Blood, which came out of his Body through all the usual Passages, and thro' the Pores; but who could express the Remorses and Tortures of his poor Soul? *Ab! Nurse, my dear,* says he, the day before his Death, *Ab! Nurse, how much Blood, how many Murders, ab! that I have followed a bad Counsel, O my God, do forgive me, and vouchsafe to be merciful unto me; I don't know where I am, so great is my Perplexity and Trouble, what will become of all this? What shall I do? I am undone, I know that very well.* His Nurse endeavoured to comfort him; at last he died, having recommended the Queen his Consort, and the Princess his Daughter, to his Mother. His Corpse was opened the next Day, before the Magistrates, no Contusion nor Spot was found in it, and Brantome says, that he and Strozzi asked PARE' what he thought of the King's Death, what had occasioned it? who answered, that the too frequent sounding of the Horn had been the occasion of it. And it appears, by a Letter of the Queen-Mother to the
French

French Ambassador in England, that his Lungs were much offended, but that all other parts of his Body were very intire and wholesome. Nevertheless, the Publick persisted in the belief of his having been poisoned either by his Mother, or Brother of *Poland*, or by the mutual Consent of both. And the strong Suspicion against the Queen-Mother occasioned the following Lines;

De quadam Maga.

Esse quid hoc dicam: quondam MEDICÆA
Virago

Ufa fuit medicis, ut bene fœta foret.

Sicque virum medicè, numerosâ prole beavit,

Sicque fuit Natis illa beata novem.

Hanc tamen effœtam, medicè quos edidit ante,

E medio medicè tollere fama refert.

Sic fœcunda parens ufa est medicamine THUSCO

Ut MEDÆA foret, quæ MEDICÆA fuit.

The same Vices of Lewdness, Luxury, Irreligion, Impiety, and magick Abominations which had reigned under Henry II. triumphed under Charles IX. with an unbridled Licence: and besides these Disorders, Treason, Poisoning, Assassinations became so rife and common, that it was but a Joke to destroy by these means, those whose Death could be any ways serviceable. In his Reign was seen what never before was seen, Women provoking Men! and that openly, and without the least Decency, not only the common sort of People, but the greatest Ladies of the Court, as the Queen of Navarr complain'd of it to her Son Henry. No wonder, if so many heinous Vices complicated one with another, drew upon the Kingdom the heaviest Judgments of God, what we have seen is but a beginning of Pain; I refer my Reader to the next Book.

N. B.

N. B. Whatever I have said about King Charles's Character, is extracted out of Thuanus, lib. 57. pag. 989, 990. Agricola's Addit. to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Vol. III. Disc. de la Vie du Roy Henry III. pag. 32, 33. Brantome Eloge de Charles IX. Papyrius Maffo Hist. Vitæ Caroli Valesii Gall. Reg. ejus Nominis noni conscripta, 1575. Agricola Nouvelles Addit. aux Memoires de Castelnau, Tom. III. pag. 406. Memoires pour servir a l'Hist. de France, Tom. I. pag. 34. Recueil des Choses memorables sous Henry II—Henry IV. pag. 502—507. Mezeray 3 Partie, Tom. V. pag. 182—185.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A.

Page 80, the last Line in the Note, for *Loula*, read *Loyola*.
 P. 82. l. 1. *the World*, r. *the whole World*. P. 97. l. 21. *Retraction*, r. *Retractation*. P. 99. l. 27. *first*, r. *fifth*. P. 105. l. 19. *Kultembourg*, r. *Kullembourg*. P. 126. l. 28. *said*, r. *sad*. P. 132. l. 18. *them*, r. *themselves*. P. 134. l. 17. *to do it*, r. *to do*. P. 166. l. 27. *Possession*, r. *Profession*. P. 194. l. 36. *resolve*, r. *resolved*. P. 202. the last line, *Thorn*, r. *of the Thorn*. P. 222. l. 5. *Session*, r. *Fussion*. P. 234. l. 22. *his own Life*, r. *with his own Life*. P. 240. l. 14. *Cipierre*, r. *Sipierre*. P. 281. l. 11. *with Prince*, r. *with that of Prince*. P. 308. l. 25. *Orez*, r. *Ortez*. P. 314. l. 2. *in the Assistance*, r. *their Assistance*. P. 318. l. 8. *to obey*, r. *as to obey*. P. 321. l. 5. *rise*, r. *rises*. l. 24. *but*, r. *for*. P. 331. l. 13. *Father and Son*, that must be understood of *Lewis Prince of Condé*, murdered at the Battel of *Bassac*, during this War, and of *Henry his Son*. P. 350. l. 19. *Queen Navarr*, r. *Queen of Navarr*. P. 357. l. 1. *at Bearn*. r. *in Bearn*. P. 364. l. 28. *carrying on of the War*, r. *carrying the War*.

The first of the year was a very cold one, and the snow lay on the ground for several weeks. The weather was very disagreeable, and the people were much distressed. The crops were all killed, and the people were obliged to live on their stocks. The winter was a very hard one, and the people suffered much. The spring was a very wet one, and the crops were all spoiled. The summer was a very hot one, and the people suffered much. The autumn was a very dry one, and the crops were all killed. The year was a very bad one, and the people were much distressed.





